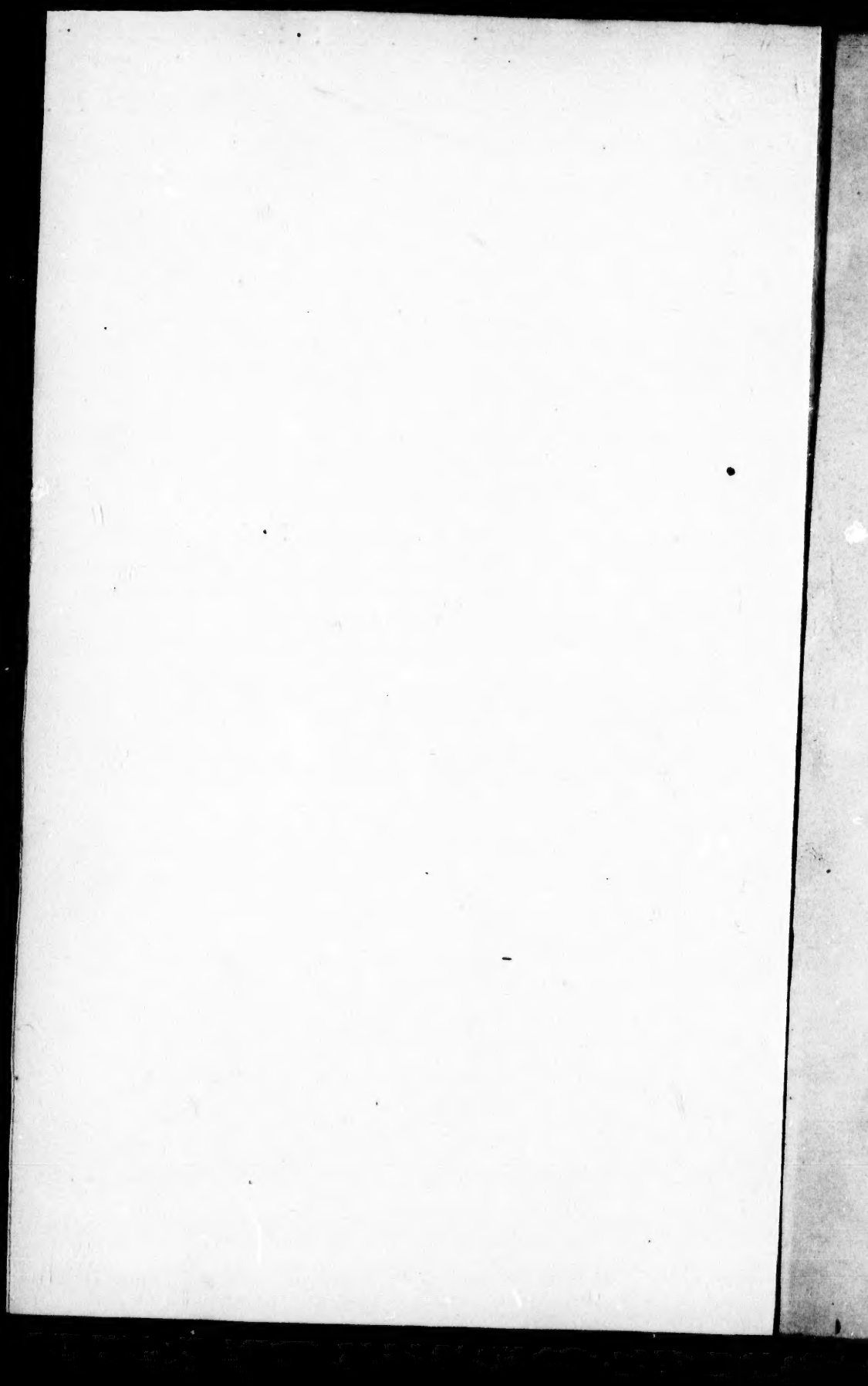




THE  
**VOYAGES**  
OF  
**CAPTAIN JAMES COOK**  
**Round the World ;**

COMPREHENDING  
A HISTORY OF THE SOUTH SEA ISLANDS,  
&c. &c.

---

*IN TWO VOLUMES.*

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VOL. II.

The varied field of science, ever new,  
Op'ning, wider op'ning on his view,  
He ventures onward with a prosperous force,  
And no base fear impedes him in his course.



LONDON:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY JAQUES AND WRIGHT,  
13. PATERNOSTER ROW.

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1825.



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# VOYAGES

CAPTAIN JAMES COOK

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**WE** fetched in with the land about two leagues to leeward of the road, which, though so near, we never could recover ; for what we gained at one time, we lost at another ; so that, by the morning of the 29th, the currents had carried us westward, within three leagues of Oneeheow. Being tired with plying so unsuccessfully, I gave up all thoughts of getting back to Atooi, and came to the resolution of trying whether we could not procure what we wanted at the other island, which was within our reach. With this view, I sent the master in a boat to look out for a landing-place ; and, if he should find one, to examine if fresh water could be got in its neighbourhood.

At ten o'clock, the master returned, and reported that he had landed in one place, but could find no fresh water ; and that there was anchorage all along the coast. Seeing a village a little farther to leeward ; and some of the islanders, who had come off to the ships, informing us that fresh water might be got there, I ran down, and came to an anchor before it, in twenty-six fathoms water, about three quarters of a mile from the shore. Six or seven canoes came off to us, before we anchored, bringing some small pigs and potatoes, and many yams and mats. The people in them resembled those of Atooi ; and seemed to be equally well acquainted with the use of iron, which they asked for also by the names

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of hamaite and toe ; parting readily with all their commodities, for pieces of this precious metal. Several more canoes soon reached the ships, after they had anchored ; but the natives in these seemed to have no other object than to pay us a formal visit. Many of them came readily on board, crouching down upon the deck, and not quitting that humble posture till they were desired to get up. They had brought several females with them, who remained alongside in the canoes, behaving with less modesty than their countrywomen of Atooi ; and, at times, all joining in a song, not remarkable for its melody, though they performed in very exact concert, by beating time upon their breasts with their hands. The men who had come on board, did not stay long ; and before they departed, some of them requested our permission to lay down, on the deck, locks of their hair. These visitors furnished us with an opportunity of agitating, this day, the curious inquiry, whether they were cannibals ; and the subject did not take its rise from any questions of ours, but from a circumstance that seemed to remove all ambiguity. One of the islanders, who wanted to get in at the gun-room port, was refused ; and, at the same time, asked, whether, if he should come in, we would kill and eat him ? accompanying this question with signs so expressive, that there could be no doubt about his meaning. This gave a proper opening to retort the question as to this practice ; and a person behind the other, in the canoe, who paid great attention to what was passing, immediately answered, that if we were killed on shore, they would certainly eat us. He spoke with so little emotion, that it appeared plainly to be his meaning, that they would not destroy us for that purpose ; but that their eating us would be the consequence of our being at enmity with them. I have availed myself of Mr. Anderson's collections, for the decision of this matter ; and am sorry to say that I cannot see the least reason to hesitate in pronouncing it to be certain, that the horrid banquet of human flesh, is as much relished here, amidst plenty, as it is in New Zealand.

On the 30th, I sent Mr. Gore ashore with a guard of marines, and a party to trade with the natives for refreshments. I intended to have followed soon after, and went from the ship with that design. But the surf had increased so much by this time, that I was fearful, if I got ashore, I should not be able to get off again. This really happened to our people who had landed with Mr. Gore, the communication between them and the ships, by our own boats, being stopped. In the evening, they made a signal for the boats, which were sent accordingly; and, not long after, they returned with a few yams, and some salt. A tolerable quantity of both had been procured in the course of the day; but the surf was so great, that the greater part of them were lost in conveying to the boats. The officer and twenty men, deterred by the danger of coming off, were left ashore all night; and, by this unfortunate circumstance, the very thing happened, which, as I have already mentioned, I wished so heartily to prevent, and vainly imagined I had effectually guarded against. The violence of the surf, which our own boats could not act against, did not hinder the natives from coming off to the ships in their canoes. They brought refreshments with them, which were purchased in exchange for nails, and pieces of iron hoops; and I distributed many pieces of ribbon, and some buttons, as bracelets, among the women in the canoes. One of the men had the figure of a lizard punctured upon his breast; and upon those of others were the figures of men badly imitated. These visitors informed us that there was no chief, or Hairee, of this island; but that it was subject to Teneooneoo, a chief of Atooi; which island, they said, was not governed by a single chief, but that there were many to whom they paid the honours of moe, or prostration; and, amongst others, they named Otaciao and Terarotoa. Among other things which these people now brought off, was a small drum, almost like those of Otaheite.

About ten or eleven o'clock at night, the wind veered to the

south, and the sky seemed to forebode a storm. With such appearances, thinking we were rather too near the shore, I ordered the anchors to be taken up, and having carried the ships into forty-two fathoms, came to again in this safer station. The precaution, however, proved to be unnecessary; for the wind, soon after, veered to north-east, from which quarter it blew a fresh gale, with squalls, attended with very heavy showers of rain. This weather continued all the next day; and the sea ran so high, that we had no communication with our party on shore; and even the natives themselves durst not venture out to the ships in their canoes. In the evening, I sent the master in a boat up to the south-east head, or point of the island, to try if he could land under it. He returned with a favourable report; but it was too late, now, to send for our party till the next morning; and thus they had another night to improve their intercourse with the natives. Encouraged by the master's report, I sent a boat to the south-east point as soon as daylight returned, with an order to Mr. Gore that, if he could not embark his people from the spot where they now were, to march them up to the point. As the boat could not get to the beach, one of the crew swam ashore, and carried the order. On the return of the boat, I went myself with the pinnace and launch up to the point, to bring the party on board; taking with me a ram-goat and two ewes, a boar and sow pig of the English breed; and the seeds of melons, pumpkins and onions; being very desirous of benefiting these poor people, by furnishing them with additional articles of food. I landed with the greatest ease, under the west side of the point, and found my party already there, with some of the natives in company. To one of them, whom Mr. Gore had observed assuming some command over the rest, I gave the goats, pigs, and seeds. I should have left these well-intended presents at Atooi, had we not been so unexpectedly driven from it.

While the people were engaged in filling the water-casks,



from a small stream occasioned by the late rain, I walked a little way up the country, attended by the man above-mentioned, and followed by two others carrying the two pigs. As soon as we got upon a rising ground, I stopped to look round me; and observed a woman, on the opposite side the valley where I landed, calling to her countrymen who attended me. Upon this the chief began to mutter something which I supposed was a prayer; and the two men who carried the pigs, continued to walk round me all the time, making, at least, a dozen circuits before the other had finished his oration. This ceremony being performed, we proceeded; and, presently, met people coming from all parts, who, on being called to by my attendants, threw themselves prostrate on their faces, till I was out of sight. The ground through which I passed, was in a state of nature, very stony, and the soil seemed poor. It was, however, covered with shrubs and plants, which perfumed the air, with a more delicious fragrantcy than I had ever met with at any of the other islands visited by us in this ocean. Our people, who had been obliged to remain so long on shore, gave me the same accounts of those parts of the island which they had traversed. They met with several salt ponds, some of which had a little water remaining, but others had none; and the salt that was left in them was so thin, that no great quantity could have been procured. There was no appearance of any running stream; and though they found some small wells, in which the fresh water was tolerably good, it seemed scarce. The habitations of the natives were thinly scattered about; and it was supposed there could not be more than five hundred people upon the island, as the greatest part were seen at the marketing-place of our party, and few found about the houses by those who walked up the country. They had an opportunity of observing the method of living amongst the natives, and it appeared to be decent and cleanly. They did not, however, see any instances of the men and women eating together; and the latter seemed generally associated

together in companies. It was found that they burnt here the oily nuts of the dooe dooe for lights in the night, as at Otaheite; and that they baked their hogs in ovens; but, contrary to the practice of the Society and Friendly Islands, split the carcasses through their whole length. They met with a positive proof of the existence of the taboo, (or as they pronounce it, the tafoo), for one woman fed another who was under that interdiction. They also observed some other mysterious ceremonies; one of which was performed by a woman, who took a small pig, and threw it into the surf, till it was drowned, and then tied up a bundle of wood, which she also disposed of in the same manner. The same woman, at another time, beat with a stick upon a man's shoulders, who sat down for that purpose. A particular veneration seemed to be paid here to owls, which they have very tame; and it was observed to be a pretty general practice, amongst them, to pull out one of their teeth; for which odd custom, when asked the reason, the only answer that could be got was, that it was teeha, which was also the reason assigned for another of their practices, the giving a lock of their hair.

After the water-casks had been filled and conveyed into the boat, and we had purchased from the natives a few roots, a little salt, and some salted fish, I returned on board with all the people, intending to visit the island the next day. But, about seven o'clock in the evening, the anchor of the Resolution started, and she drove off the bank. As we had a whole cable out, it was some time before the anchor was at the bows; and then we had the launch to hoist up along-side, before we could make sail. By this unlucky accident, we found ourselves, at day-break next morning, three leagues to leeward of our former station, and seeing that it would take more time to recover it than I chose to spend, I made the signal for the Discovery to weigh and join us; which was done about noon; and on the 2nd of February, we stood away to the northward, in prosecution of



our voyage. Thus, after spending more time about these islands, than was necessary for all our purposes, we were obliged to leave them before we had completed our water. Our ship procured from them provisions, sufficient to last for three weeks at least; and Capt. Clerke, more fortunate than us, got, of their vegetable productions, a supply that lasted his people upwards of two months.

It is worthy of observation, that the islands in the Pacific Ocean, which our late voyages have added to the geography of the globe, have been generally found lying in groups or clusters; the single intermediate islands, as yet discovered, being few in proportion to the others; though, probably, there are many more of them still unknown, which serve as steps between the several clusters. Of what number this newly-discovered archipelago consists, must be left to future investigation. We saw five of them, whose names, as given to us by the natives, are Woahoo, Atooi, Oneeheow, Oreehoua, and Tahoora. I named the group the Sandwich Islands, in honour of the Earl of Sandwich. Atooi, which is the largest of these islands, is, at least, ten leagues in length from east to west; from whence its circuit may nearly be guessed, though it appears much broader at the east than at the west point, if we may judge from the double range of hills which appeared there. The land, as to its general appearance, does not, in the least, resemble any we had hitherto visited within the tropic, on the south side of the equator; if we except its hills near the centre, which are high, but slope gently towards the sea, or lower lands. Though it be destitute of the delightful borders of Otaheite, and of the luxuriant plains of Tongataboo, covered with trees, which at once afford a friendly shelter from the scorching sun, and an enchanting prospect to the eye, and food for the natives, which may be truly said to drop from the trees into their mouths, without the laborious task of rearing; though, I say, Atooi be destitute of these advantages, its possessing a greater quantity of gently-rising land, renders it, in some

measure, superior to the above favourite islands, as being more capable of improvement. The temperature of the climate may be easily guessed from the situation of the island. Were we to judge of it from our experience, it might be said to be very variable; for, according to the generally received opinion, it was now the season of the year, when the weather is supposed to be most settled, the sun being at his greatest annual distance. The heat was, at this time, very moderate; and few of those inconveniences, which many tropical countries are subject to, either from heat or moisture, seem to be experienced here, as the habitations of the natives are quite close.

Besides the vegetable articles, bought by us as refreshments, amongst which were, at least, five or six varieties of plantains, the island produces bread-fruit; though it seems to be scarce, as we saw only one tree, which was large, and had some fruit upon it. There were also a few cocoapalms; yams, as we were told, for we saw none; the kappe of the Friendly Islands, or Virginian arum; the etooa tree, and sweet-smelling gardenia, or cape jasmine. We saw several trees of the dooe dooe, so useful at Otaheite, as bearing the oily nuts, which are stuck upon a kind of skewer, and burnt as candles. Our people saw them used in the same manner at Oneeheow. We were not on shore at Atooi but in the day-time, and then we saw the natives wearing these nuts, hung on strings, round the neck. The scarlet birds, already described, which were brought for sale, were never met with alive; but we saw a single small one, about the size of a canary-bird, of a deep crimson colour; a large owl; two large brown hawks, or kites; and a wild duck. It is probable that there are a great many sorts, judging by the quantity of fine yellow, green, and very small, velvet-like, black feathers used upon the cloaks, and other ornaments worn by the inhabitants. Fish, and other marine productions, were, to appearance, not various; as, besides the small mackarel, we only saw common mullets,

a sort of dead white, or chalky colour; a small brownish rock-fish, spotted with blue; a turtle, which was penned up in a pond; and three or four sorts of fish salted. The few shell-fish that we saw, were chiefly converted into ornaments, though they had neither beauty nor novelty to recommend them. The hogs, dogs, and fowls, which were the only tame or domestic animals that we found here, were all of the same kind that we met with in the South Pacific Islands. There were also small lizards; and some rats, resembling those seen at every island at which we had, as yet, touched.

The inhabitants are of a middling stature, firmly made, with some exceptions, neither remarkable for a beautiful shape, nor striking features, which rather express an openness and good-nature, than a keen intelligent disposition. Their visage, especially among the women, is sometimes round; but others have it long; nor can we say they are distinguished as a nation, by any general cast of countenance. Their colour is nearly of a nut-brown; and it may be difficult to make a nearer comparison, if we take in all the different hues of that colour; but some individuals are darker. There is, indeed, a more remarkable equality in the size, colour, and figure of both sexes, than in most places I have visited. However, upon the whole, they are far from being ugly, and appear to have few natural deformities of any kind. Their skin is not very soft, nor shining; perhaps for want of oiling, which is practised in the southern islands; but their eyes and teeth are, in general, tolerable. Their hair, for the greatest part, is straight, though, in some frizzling; and, though its natural colour be commonly black, it is stained, as at the Friendly and other islands. We saw but few instances of corpulence; and these more amongst the women than the men; but it was chiefly amongst the latter that personal defects were observed, though, if any of them can claim a share of beauty, it is most conspicuous amongst the young men.

They are vigorous, active, and most expert swimmers; leaving their canoes upon the most trifling occasion; diving under them; and swimming to others, though at a great distance. It was very common to see women with infants at the breast, when the surf was so high that they could not land in the canoes, leap overboard, and, without endangering their little ones, swim to the shore, through a sea that looked dreadful. They seem to be blessed with a frank cheerful disposition; and to live very sociably in their intercourse with one another; and, except the propensity to thieving, which seems innate in most of the people we have visited in this ocean, they were exceedingly friendly to us. And it does their sensibility no little credit, without flattering ourselves, that when they saw the various articles of our European manufacture, they could not help expressing their surprise, by a mixture of joy and concern, that seemed to apply the case as a lesson of humility to themselves: and, on all occasions, they appeared deeply impressed with a consciousness of their own inferiority. It was a pleasure to see with how much affection the women managed their infants, and how readily the men lent their assistance to such a tender office; thus sufficiently distinguishing themselves from those savages, who esteem a wife and child as things rather necessary, than desirable or worthy of their notice.

From the numbers we saw collected at every village, as we sailed past, it was supposed that the inhabitants of this island are pretty numerous. Any computation that we can make, can be only conjectural. But, that some notion may be formed, which shall not greatly err on either side, I would suppose, that, including the straggling houses, there might be, upon the whole island, sixty such villages, as that before which we anchored; and that, allowing five persons to each house, there would be, in every village, five hundred; or thirty thousand upon the island. This number is certainly not exaggerated; for we had sometimes three

thousand persons at least upon the beach ; when it could not be supposed that above a tenth part of the inhabitants were present.

The common dress of both the men and the women has been already described. The first have often much larger pieces of cloth wrapped round them, reaching from just below the breasts to the hams, or lower ; and several were seen with pieces thrown loosely about the shoulders, which covered the greatest part of the body ; but the children when very young are quite naked. They wear nothing upon the head ; but the hair in both sexes is cut in different forms ; and the general fashion, especially among the women, is to have it long before and short behind. The men often had it cut or shaved on each side, in such a manner, that the remaining part, in some measure, resembled the crest of their caps or helmets formerly described. Both sexes, however, seem very careless about their hair, and have nothing like combs to dress it with. Instances of wearing it in a singular manner were sometimes met with among the men, who twist it into a number of separate parcels, like the tails of a wig, each about the thickness of a finger ; though the greatest part of these, which are so long that they reach far down the back, we observed were artificially fixed upon the head over their own hair.

It is remarkable, that contrary to the general practice of of the islands we had hitherto discovered in the Pacific Ocean, the people of the Sandwich Islands have not their ears perforated, nor have they the least idea of wearing ornaments in them. Both sexes, however, adorn themselves with necklaces made of bunches of small black cord, like our hat-string, often above a hundred-fold ; exactly like those at Watecoo ; only that instead of the two little balls on the middle before, they fix a small bit of wood, stone, or shell, about two inches long, with a broad hook turning forward at its lower part well polished. They have likewise necklaces of many strings of very small shells, or of the dried flowers of



the Indian mallow. And sometimes a small human image of bone, about three inches long, neatly polished, is hung round the neck. The women also wear bracelets of a single shell, pieces of black wood, with bits of ivory interspersed, well polished, fixed by a string drawn very closely through them; or others of hogs teeth laid parallel to each other, with the concave side outward, and the points cut off, fastened together as the former; some of which made only of large boars tusks are very elegant. The men sometimes wear plumes of the tropic birds feathers stuck in their heads; or those of cocks, fastened round neat polished sticks two feet long, commonly decorated at the lower part with oora; and for the same purpose, the skin of a white dog's tail is sewed over a stick with its tuft at the end. They also frequently wear on the head a kind of ornament of a finger's thickness or more, covered with red and yellow feathers curiously varied, and tied behind; and on the arm, above the elbow, a kind of broad shell-work, grounded upon network.

The men are frequently punctured, though not in any particular part, as the Otaheiteans and those of Tongataboo. Sometimes there are a few marks upon their hands or arms, and near the groin; but frequently we could observe none at all; though a few individuals had more of this sort of ornament, than we had usually seen at other places, and ingeniously executed in a great variety of lines and figures on the arms and fore part of the body; on which latter, some of them had the figure of the taame, or breast-plate of Otaheite, though we did not meet with the thing itself amongst them.

Though they seem to have adopted the mode of living in villages, there is no appearance of defence or fortification near any of them; and the houses are scattered about without any order, either in respect to their distances from each other, or their position in any particular direction. Neither is there any proportion as to their size; some being large

and commodious, from forty to fifty feet long, and from twenty to thirty broad, while others of them are mere hovels. Their figure is not unlike oblong corn or hay-stacks ; or, perhaps, a better idea may be conceived of them, if we suppose the roof of a barn placed on the ground, in such a manner as to form a high acute ridge, with two very low sides, hardly discernable at a distance. The gable at each end corresponding to the sides, makes these habitations perfectly close all round ; and they are well thatched with long grass, which is laid on slender poles disposed with some regularity. The entrance is made indifferently at the end or side, and is an oblong hole, so low, than one must rather creep than walk in ; and is often shut up by a board of planks fastened together, which serves as a door, but having no hinges, must be removed occasionally. No light enters the house but at this opening ; and though such close habitations may afford a comfortable retreat in bad weather, they seem but ill adapted to the warmth of the climate. They are, however, kept remarkably clean ; and their floors are covered with a large quantity of dried grass, over which they spread mats to sit and sleep upon. At one end stands a bench about three feet high, on which their household utensils are placed. The catalogue is not long. It consists of gourd-shells, which they convert into vessels that serve as bottles to hold water, and as baskets to contain their victuals and other things, with covers of the same ; and a few wooden bowls and trenchers of different sizes. Judging from what we saw growing, and from what was brought to market, there can be no doubt, that the greatest part of their vegetable food consists of sweet potatoes, taro, and plantains ; and that bread-fruit and yams are rather to be esteemed rarities. Of animal food they can be in no want ; as they have abundance of hogs, which run without restraint about the houses ; and if they eat dogs, which is not improbable, their stock of these seemed to be very considerable. The great number of fishing-hooks found amongst them,

shewed that they derive no inconsiderable supply of food from the sea.

They bake their vegetable food with heated stones, as at the Southern Islands ; and from the vast quantity which we saw dressed at one time, we suspected that the whole village, or, at least, a considerable number of people, joined in the use of a common oven. We did not see them dress any animal food at this island ; but Mr. Gore's party, as already mentioned, had an opportunity of satisfying themselves, that it was dressed in Oneeheow in the same sort of ovens ; which leaves no doubt of its being also the practice in Atooi ; especially as we met with no utensil there that could be applied to the purpose of stewing or boiling. The only artificial dish we met with was a taro pudding ; which, though a disagreeable mess from its sourness, was greedily devoured by the natives. They eat off a kind of wooden plates or trenchers ; and the women, as far as we could judge from one instance, if restrained from feeding at the same dish with the men, as at Otaheite, are at least permitted to eat in the same place near them.

Their amusements seem pretty various ; for during our short stay, several were discovered. The dances at which they used the feathered cloaks and caps were not seen ; but from the motions which they made with their hands on other occasions, when they sung, we could form some judgment that they are, in some degree, at least, similar to those we had met with at the Southern Islands, though not executed so skilfully. Neither had they amongst them, either flutes or reeds ; and the only two musical instruments which we observed were of an exceedingly rude kind. One of them does not produce a melody exceeding that of a child's rattle. It consists of what may be called a conic cap inverted, but scarcely hollowed at the base above a foot high, made of a coarse sedge-like plant ; the upper part of which, and the edges, are ornamented with beautiful red feathers ; and to the point, or lower part, is fixed a gourd-shell larger

than the fist. Into this is put something to rattle ; which is done by holding the instrument by the small part, and shaking or rather moving it from place to place briskly, either to different sides or backward and forward just before the face, striking the breast with the other hand at the same time. The other musical instrument (if either of them deserve that name) was a hollow vessel of wood, like a platter, combined with the use of two sticks, on which one of our gentlemen saw a man performing. He held one of the sticks, about two feet long, as we do a fiddle with one hand, and struck it with the other, which was smaller and resembled a drum-stick, in a quicker or slower measure ; at the same time beating with his foot upon the hollow vessel that lay inverted upon the ground, and thus producing a tune that was by no means disagreeable. This music was accompanied by the vocal performance of some women, whose song had a pleasing and tender effect.

In every thing manufactured by these people, there appears to be an uncommon degree of neatness and ingenuity. Their cloth, which is the principal manufacture, is made in the same manner as at Otaheite and Tongataboo. Its texture, however, though thicker, is rather inferior to that of the cloth of either of the other places ; but in colouring or staining it, the people of Atooi display a superiority of taste, by the endless variation of figures which they execute.

They fabricate a great many white mats, which are strong, with many red stripes, rhombuses, and other figures interwoven on one side ; and often pretty large. These probably make a part of their dress occasionally ; for they put them on their backs when they offered them for sale. But they make others coarser, plain and strong, which they spread over their floors to sleep upon.

They stain their gourd-shells prettily with undulated lines, triangles, and other figures of a black colour ; instances of which, we saw practised at New Zealand. And they seem to possess the art of varnishing ; for some of these stained

gourd-shells are covered with a kind of lacker; and on other occasions, they use a strong size, or gluey substance, to fasten their things together. Their wooden dishes and bowls, out of which they drink their ava, are of the etooa-tree or cordia, as neat as if made in our turning-lathe, and perhaps better polished. And amongst their articles of handicraft, may be reckoned small square fans of mat or wicker-work, with handles tapering from them of the same, or of wood; which are neatly wrought with small cords of hair, and fibres of the cocoa-nut coir intermixed. The great variety of fishing-hooks are ingeniously made; some of bone, others of wood pointed with bone, and many of pearl shell. Of the last, some are like a sort that we saw at 'Tongataboo; and others simply carved, as the common sort at Otaheite, as well as the wooden ones. The bones are mostly small, and composed of two pieces; and all the different sorts have a barb, either on the inside, like ours, or on the outside, opposite the same part; but others have both, the outer one being farthest from the point. Of this last sort, one was procured, nine inches long, of a single piece of bone, which doubtless belonged to some large fish. The elegant form and polish of this could not certainly be outdone by any European artist, even if he should add all his knowledge in design to the number and convenience of his tools. They polish their stones by constant friction, with pumice-stone in water; and such of their working instruments or tools, as I saw, resembled those of the Southern Islands. Their hatchets, or rather adzes, were exactly of the same pattern, and either made of the same sort of blackish stone, or of a clay-coloured one. They have also little instruments made of a single shark's tooth, some of which are fixed to the fore-part of a dog's jaw-bone, and others to a thin wooden handle of the same shape; and at the other end there is a bit of string fastened through a small perforation. These serve as knives occasionally, and are perhaps used in carving.

The only iron tools, or rather bits of iron seen amongst



them, and which they had before our arrival, were a piece of iron hoop about two inches long, fixed into a wooden handle ; and another edge-tool, which our people guessed to be made of the point of a broad-sword. Their having the actual possession of these, and their so generally knowing the use of this metal, inclined some on board to think, that we had not been the first European visitors of these islands.

Their canoes, in general, are about twenty-four feet long, and have the bottom, for the most part, formed of a single piece or log of wood, hollowed out to the thickness of an inch or an inch and an half, and brought to a point at each end. The sides consist of three boards, each about an inch thick, and neatly fitted and lashed to the bottom part. The extremities both at head and stern are a little raised, and both are made sharp somewhat like a wedge ; but they flatten more abruptly, so that the two side-boards join each other side by side, for more than a foot. As they are not more than fifteen or eighteen inches broad, those that go single (for they sometimes join them as at the other islands) have out-riggers, which are shaped and fitted with more judgment than any I had before seen. They are rowed by paddles, such as we had generally met with ; and some of them have a light triangular sail, like those of the Friendly Islands, extended to a mast and boom. The ropes used for their boats, and the smaller cords for their fishing-tackle, are strong and well made.

What we saw of their agriculture, furnished sufficient proofs that they are not novices in that art. The vale ground has already been mentioned as one continued plantation of taro, and a few other things, which have all the appearance of being well attended to. The potatoe fields, and spots of sugar-cane, or plantains on the higher grounds, are planted with the same regularity ; and always in some determinate figure ; generally as a square or oblong ; but neither these, nor the others, are inclosed with any kind of fence, unless we reckon the ditches in the low grounds such ; which, it is

more probable, are intended to convey water to the taro. The great quantity and goodness of these articles may also, perhaps, be as much attributed to skilful culture, as to natural fertility of soil, which seems better adapted to them than to bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees ; the few which we saw of these latter not being in a thriving state, which will sufficiently account for the preference given to the culture of the other articles, though more labour be required to produce them. But notwithstanding this skill in agriculture, the general appearance of the island shewed, that it was capable of much more extensive improvements, and of maintaining, at least, three times the number of the inhabitants that are at present upon it ; for the far greater part of it, that now lies quite waste, seemed to be as good a soil as those parts of it that are in cultivation. We must therefore conclude, that these people, from some cause, which we were not long enough amongst them to be able to trace, do not increase in that proportion, which would make it necessary to avail themselves of the extent of their island, towards raising a greater quantity of its vegetable productions for their subsistence.

Though I did not see a chief of any note, there were, however, several, as the natives informed us, who reside upon Atooi, and to whom they prostrate themselves as a mark of submission. Whether they were at first afraid to shew themselves, or happened to be absent, I cannot say ; but after I had left the island, one of these great men made his appearance, and paid a visit to Capt. Clerke on board the *Discovery*. He came off in a double canoe ; and, like the king of the Friendly Islands, paid no regard to the small canoes that happened to lie in his way, but ran against, or over them. And it was not possible for these poor people to avoid him, for they could not manage their canoes ; it being a necessary mark of their submission, that they should lie down when he passed. His attendants helped him into the ship, and placed him on the gang-way. Their care of him

did not cease then ; for they stood round him, holding each other by the hands ; nor would they suffer any one to come near him but Capt. Clerke himself. He was a young man, clothed from head to foot ; and accompanied by a young woman supposed to be his wife. His name was Tamahano. Capt. Clerke made him some suitable presents ; and received from him, in return, a large bowl supported by two figures of men, the carving of which, both as to the design and the execution, shewed some degree of skill. This bowl, as our people were told, used to be filled with the kava, or ava (as it is called at Otūheite), which liquor they prepare and drink here, as at the other islands in this ocean. Capt. Clerke could not prevail upon this great man to go below, nor to move from the place where his attendants had first fixed him. After staying some time in the ship, he was carried again into his canoe, and returned to the island, receiving the same honours from all the natives, as when he came on board. The next day several messages were sent to Capt. Clerke, inviting him to return the visit ashore, and acquainting him that the chief had prepared a large present on that occasion. But being anxious to get to sea, and join the *Resolution*, the captain did not think it advisable to accept of the invitation.

The short and imperfect intercourse which we had with the natives, put it out of our power to form any accurate judgment of the mode of government established amongst them ; but from the general resemblance of customs, and particularly from what we observed of the honours paid to their chiefs, it seems reasonable to believe, that it is of the same nature with that which prevails throughout all the islands we had hitherto visited. Probably their wars amongst themselves are equally frequent. This indeed might be inferred from the number of weapons which we found them possessed of, and from the excellent order they were kept in. But we had direct proof of the fact from their own confession ; and, as we understood, these wars are between the

different districts of their own island, as well as between it and their neighbours of Oneeheow and Orrehona. We need scarcely assign any other cause besides this, to account for the appearance already mentioned, of their population bearing no proportion to the ground capable of cultivation.

Besides their spears or lances, made of a fine chesnut-coloured wood beautifully polished, some of which are barbed at one end, and flattened to a point at the other, they had a sort of weapon which we had never seen before, and not mentioned by any navigator, as used by the natives of the South Sea. It is somewhat like a dagger; in general about a foot and a half long, sharpened at one or both ends, and secured to the hand by a string. Its use is to stab in close fight; and it seems well adapted to the purpose. Some of these may be called double daggers, having a handle in the middle, with which they are better enabled to strike different ways. They have also bows and arrows; but, both from their apparent scarcity and their slender make, it may almost be presumed that they never use them in battle. The knife or saw formerly mentioned, with which they dissect the dead bodies, may also be ranked amongst their weapons, as they both strike and cut with it when closely engaged. It is a small flat wooden instrument, of an oblong shape, about a foot long, rounded at the corners, with a handle almost like one sort of the patoos of New Zealand; but its edges are entirely surrounded with sharks' teeth, strongly fixed to it, and pointing outward; having commonly a hole in the handle, through which passes a long string, which is wrapped several times round the wrist. We also suspected that they use slings on some occasions; for we got some pieces of the hæmatites, or blood-stone, artificially made of an oval shape, divided longitudinally, with a narrow groove in the middle of the convex part. To this the person, who had one of them, applied a cord of no great thickness, but would not part with it, though he had no objection to part with the stone, which must prove fatal when

thrown with any force, as it weighed a pound. We likewise saw some oval pieces of whetstone well polished, but somewhat pointed toward each end, nearly resembling in shape some stones which we had seen at New Caledonia in 1774, and used there in their slings.

What we could learn of their religious institutions, and the manner of disposing of their dead, which may, properly, be considered as closely connected, has been already mentioned. And as nothing more strongly points out the affinity between the manners of these people and of the Friendly and Society Islands, I must just mention some other circumstances to place this in a strong point of view; and, at the same time, to shew how a few of the infinite modifications of which a few leading principles are capable, may distinguish a nation. The people of Tongataboo inter their dead in a very decent manner, and they also inter their human sacrifices; but they do not offer, or expose any other animal, or even vegetable, to their gods, as far as we know. Those of Otaheite do not inter their dead, but expose them to waste by time and putrefaction, though the bones are afterwards buried; and, as this is the case, it is very remarkable, that they should inter the entire bodies of their human sacrifices. They also offer other animals, and vegetables, to their gods; but are, by no means, attentive to the state of the sacred places, where those solemn rites are performed; most of their morais being in a ruinous condition, and bearing evident marks of neglect. The people of Atooi, again, inter both their common dead, and human sacrifices, as at Tongataboo; but they resemble those of Otaheite, in the slovenly state of their religious places, and in offering vegetables and animals to their gods.

The taboo also prevails in Atooi, in its full extent, and seemingly with much more rigour than even at Tongataboo. For the people here always asked, with great eagerness and signs of fear to offend, whether any particular thing, which they desired to see, or we were unwilling to shew, was

taboo, or, as they pronounced the word, tafoo? The maia, raä, or forbidden articles at the Society Islands, though, doubtless, the same thing, did not seem to be so strictly observed by them, except with respect to the dead, about whom we thought them more superstitious than any of the others were. But these are circumstances with which we are not, as yet, sufficiently acquainted, to be decisive about; and I shall only just observe, to shew the similitude in other matters, connected with religion, that the priests, or tahounas, here, are as numerous as at the other islands, if we may judge from our being able, during our short stay, to distinguish several saying their poore or prayer.

But whatever resemblance we might discover, in the general manners of the people of Atooi, to those of Otaheite, these, of course, were less striking than the coincidence of language. Indeed, the languages of both places may be said to be almost, word for word, the same. It is true, that we sometimes remarked particular words to be pronounced exactly as we had found at New Zealand, and the Friendly Islands; but though all the four dialects are indisputably the same, these people, in general, have neither the strong guttural pronunciation of the former, nor a less degree of it, which also distinguishes the latter; and they have not only adopted the soft mode of the Otaheiteans, in avoiding harsh sounds, but the whole idiom of their language; using not only the same affixes and suffixes to their words, but the same measure and cadence in their songs; though in a manner somewhat less agreeable. There seems, indeed, at first hearing, some disagreement to the ear of a stranger; but it ought to be considered, that the people of Otaheite, from their frequent connections with the English, had learnt, in some measure, to adapt themselves to our scanty knowledge of their language, by using not only the most common, but even corrupted expressions, in their conversation with us; whereas, when they conversed among themselves, and used the several parts necessary to propriety of speech, they were



scarcely at all understood by those amongst us, who had made the greatest proficiency in their vocabulary. A catalogue of words was collected at Atooi, by Mr. Anderson, who lost no opportunity of making our voyage useful to those who amuse themselves in tracing the migrations of the various tribes, or families, that have peopled the globe, by the most convincing of all arguments, that drawn from the affinity of language.

How shall we account for this nation's having spread itself, in so many detached islands, so widely disjoined from each other, in every quarter of the Pacific Ocean! We find it from New Zealand in the south, as far as the Sandwich Islands in the north! And, in another direction, from Easter Island to the Hebrides! That is, over an extent of sixty degrees of latitude, or twelve hundred leagues, north and south! And eighty-three degrees of longitude, or sixteen hundred and sixty leagues, east and west! How much farther, in either direction, its colonies may extend, is not known; but what we know already, in consequence of this and our former voyage, warrants our pronouncing it to be, though perhaps not the most numerous, certainly, by far, the most extensive nation upon the earth.

If the Sandwich Islands had been discovered at an early period, by the Spaniards, there is little doubt that they would have taken advantage of so excellent a situation, and have made use of Atooi, or some other of the islands, as a refreshing place to the ships, that sail annually from Aca-pulco to Manilla. They lie almost midway between the first place and Guam, one of the Ladrões, which is at present their only port in traversing this vast ocean: and it would not have been above a week's sail out of their common route, to have touched at them; which could have been done without the least hazard of losing the passage, as they are sufficiently within the verge of the easterly trade-wind. An acquaintance with the Sandwich Islands would have been equally favourable to our Buccaneers, who used sometimes

to pass from the coast of America to the Ladrões, with a stock of food and water scarcely sufficient to preserve life. Here they might have found plenty, and have been within a month's sure sail of the very part of California, which the Manilla ship is obliged to make, or else have returned to the coast of America, thoroughly refitted, after an absence of two months. How happy would Lord Anson have been, and what hardships would he have avoided, had he known that there was a group of islands, half way between America and Tinian, where all his wants could have been effectually supplied; and in describing which, the elegant historian of that voyage, would have presented his reader with a more agreeable picture than I have been able to draw.

On the 2d of February, we stood away to the northward, and without meeting with any thing memorable, on the 7th of March, the long-looked for coast of New Albion was seen, extending from north-east to south-east, distant ten or twelve leagues. The land appeared to be of a moderate height, diversified with hills and valleys, and almost every where covered with wood.

After coasting along, and combating contrary winds, on the 29th we anchored in eighty-five fathoms water, so near the shore as to reach it with a hawser.

We no sooner drew near the inlet than we found the coast to be inhabited; and three canoes came off to the ship. In one of these were two men, in another six, and in the third ten. Having come pretty near us, a person in one of the two last stood up, and made a long harangue, inviting us to land, as we guessed, by his gestures. At the same time he kept strawing handfuls of feathers towards us; and some of his companions threw handfuls of a red dust or powder in the same manner. The person who played the orator wore the skin of some animal, and held, in each hand, something which rattled as he kept shaking it. After tiring himself with his repeated exhortations, of which we did not understand a word, he was quiet; and then others took it, by

turns, to say something, though they acted their part neither so long, nor with so much vehemence as the other. We observed that two or three had their hair quite strewed over with small white feathers, and others had large ones stuck in different parts of the head. After the tumultuous noise had ceased, they lay at a little distance from the ship, and conversed with each other in a very easy manner; nor did they seem to show the least surprise or distrust. Some of them, now and then, got up, and said something after the manner of their first harangues; and one sung a very agreeable air, with a degree of softness and melody that we could not have expected; the word *haela* being often repeated as the burden of the song. The breeze, which soon after sprung up, bringing us nearer the shore, the canoes began to come off in greater numbers; and we had, at one time, thirty-two of them near the ship, carrying from three to seven or eight persons each, both men and women. Several of these stood up in their canoes haranguing, and making gestures after the manner of our first visitors. One canoe was remarkable for a singular head, which had a bird's eye and bill, of an enormous size, painted on it; and a person who was in it, who seemed to be a chief, was no less remarkable for his uncommon appearance; having many feathers hanging from his head, and being painted in an extraordinary manner. He held in his hand a carved bird of wood, as large as a pigeon, with which he rattled as the person first-mentioned had done; and was no less vociferous in his harangue, which was attended with some expressive gestures.

Though our visitors behaved very peaceably, and could not be suspected of any hostile intention, we could not prevail upon any of them to come on board. They shewed great readiness, however, to part with any thing they had, and took from us whatever we offered them in exchange; but were more desirous of iron, than of any other of our articles of commerce; appearing to be perfectly acquainted with the use of that metal. Many of the canoes followed us

to our anchoring-place ; and a group of ten or a dozen of them remained along-side the Resolution most part of the night.

These circumstances gave us a reasonable ground of hope, that we should find this a comfortable station to supply all our wants, and to make us forget the hardships and delays experienced during a constant succession of adverse winds, and boisterous weather, almost ever since our arrival on the coast of America.

The ships having happily found so excellent shelter in an inlet, the coasts of which appeared to be inhabited by a race of people, whose inoffensive behaviour promised a friendly intercourse, the next morning, after coming to an anchor, I lost no time in endeavouring to find a commodious harbour, where we might station ourselves during our continuance in the Sound. Accordingly, I sent three armed boats, under the command of Mr. King, upon this service ; and soon after, I went myself, in a small boat, on the same search. I had very little trouble in finding what we wanted. On the north-west of the arm we were now in, I found a convenient snug cove well suited to our purpose. Mr. King was equally successful ; for he returned about noon, with an account of a still better harbour, which he had seen and examined, lying on the north-west side of the land. But as it would have required more time to carry the ships thither, than to the cove where I had been, which was immediately within our reach ; this reason operated to determine my choice in favour of the latter situation. But being apprehensive, that we should not be able to transport our ships to it, and to moor them properly, before night came on, I thought it best to remain where we were till the next morning ; and, that no time might be lost, I employed the remainder of the day to some useful purposes, ordering the sails to be unbent, the top-masts to be struck, and the fore-mast of the Resolution to be unrigged, in order to fix a new bib, one of the old ones being decayed.

A great many canoes, filled with the natives, were about the ships all day; and a trade commenced betwixt us and them, which was carried on with the strictest honesty on both sides. The articles which they offered to sale were skins of various animals, such as bears, wolves, foxes, deer, racoons, pole-cats, martins; and, in particular, of the sea otters, which are found at the islands east of Kamtschatka. Besides the skins in their native shape, they also brought garments made of them, and another sort of clothing made of the bark of a tree, or some plant like hemp; weapons, such as bows, arrows, and spears; fish hooks, and instruments of various kinds; wooden visors, of many different monstrous figures; a sort of woollen stuff, or blanketing; bags; filled with red ochre; pieces of carved work; beads; and several other little ornaments of thin brass and iron, shaped like a horse-shoe, which they hung at their noses; and several chissels, or pieces of iron, fixed to handles. From their possessing such metal, we could infer that they had either been visited before by some civilized nation, or had connections with tribes on their continent, who had communication with them. But the most extraordinary of all the articles which they brought to the ships for sale, were human skulls, and hands not yet quite stripped of the flesh, which they made our people plainly to understand they had eaten; and, indeed, some of them had evident marks that they had been upon the fire. We had but too much reason to suspect, from this circumstance, that the horrid practice of feeding on their enemies, is as prevalent here, as we had found it to be at New Zealand and other South Sea Islands. For the various articles which they brought, they took in exchange knives, chissels, pieces of iron and tin, nails, looking-glasses, buttons, or any kind of metal. Glass beads they were not fond of; and cloth of every sort they rejected.

We employed the next day in hauling our ships into the cove, where they were moored head and stern, fastening our hawsers to the trees on shore: On heaving up the an-

chor of the *Resolution*, we found, notwithstanding the great depth of water in which it was let go, that there were rocks at the bottom. These had done some considerable damage to the cable; and the hawsers that were carried out, to warp the ship into the cove, also got foul of rocks; from which it appeared that the whole bottom was strewed with them. The ship being again very leaky in her upper works, I ordered the carpenters to go to work to caulk her, and to repair such other defects as, on examination, we might discover.

The fame of our arrival brought a great concourse of the natives to our ships in the course of this day. We counted above a hundred canoes at one time, which might be supposed to contain, at an average, five persons in each, for few of them had less than three on board; great numbers had seven, eight, or nine; and one was manned with no less than seventeen. Amongst these visitors many now favoured us with their company for the first time, which we could guess from their approaching the ships with their orations and other ceremonies. If they had any distrust or fear of us at first, they now appeared to have laid it aside; for they came on board the ships, and mixed with our people with the greatest freedom. We soon discovered, by this nearer intercourse, that they were as light-fingered as any of our friends in the islands we had visited in the course of the voyage. And they were far more dangerous thieves; for, possessing sharp iron instruments, they could cut a hook from a tackle, or any other piece of iron from a rope, as soon as our backs were turned. A large hook, weighing between twenty and thirty pounds, several smaller ones, and other articles of iron, were lost in this manner. And, as to our boats, they stripped them of every bit of iron that was worth carrying away, though we had always men left in them as a guard. They were dexterous enough in effecting their purposes; for one fellow would contrive to amuse the boat keeper, at one end of a boat, while another was pul-



ling out the iron-work at the other. If we missed a thing immediately after it had been stolen, we found little difficulty in detecting the thief, as they were ready enough to impeach one another. But the guilty person generally relinquished his prize with reluctance ; and sometimes we found it necessary to have recourse to force.

The ships being securely moored, we began our other necessary business the next day. The observatories were carried ashore, and placed upon an elevated rock on one side of the cove, close to the Resolution. A party of men, with an officer, was sent to cut wood, and to clear a place for the convenience of watering. Others were employed to brew spruce-beer, as pine trees abounded here. The forge was also set up, to make the iron-work wanting for the repairs of the fore-mast. For besides one of the bibs being defective, the larboard trestle-tree, and one of the cross-trees were sprung.

A considerable number of the natives visited us daily ; and, every now and then, we saw new faces. On their first coming, they generally went through a singular mode of introducing themselves. They would paddle, with all their strength, quite round both ships, a chief, or other principal person in the canoe, standing up with a spear, or some other weapon, in his hand, and speaking, or hallooing, all the time. Sometimes the orator of the canoe would have his face covered with a mask, representing either a human visage, or that of some animal ; and, instead of a weapon, would hold a rattle in his hand, as before described. After making this circuit round the ships, they would come alongside and begin to trade without further ceremony. Very often, indeed, they would first give us a song, in which all in the canoe joined, with a very pleasing harmony.

During these visits, they gave us no other trouble than to guard against their thievish tricks. But, in the morning of the 4th, we had a serious alarm. Our party on shore, who were employed in cutting wood, and filling water, observed

that the natives all around them were arming themselves in the best manner they could ; those, who were not possessed of proper weapons, preparing sticks, and collecting stones. On hearing this, I thought it prudent to arm also ; but, being determined to act upon the defensive, I ordered our workmen to retreat to the rock, upon which we had placed our observatories ; leaving the natives in quiet possession of the ground where they had assembled, which was within a stone's throw of the Resolution's stern. Our fears were ill-grounded : these hostile preparations were not directed against us, but against a body of their own countrymen, who were coming to fight them ; and our friends of the Sound, on observing our apprehensions, used their best endeavours to convince us that this was the case. We could see, that they had people looking out, on each point of the cove, and canoes frequently passed between them and the main body assembled near the ships. At length, the adverse party, in about a dozen large canoes, appeared off the south point of the cove, where they stopped, and lay drawn up in a line of battle, a negociation having commenced. Some people in canoes, in conducting the treaty, passed between the two parties, and there was some speaking on both sides. At length, the difference, whatever it was, seemed to be compromised ; but the strangers were not allowed to come along-side the ships, nor to have any trade or intercourse with us. Probably we were the cause of the quarrel ; the strangers, perhaps, being desirous to share in the advantages of a trade with us ; and our first friends, the inhabitants of the Sound, being determined to engross us entirely to themselves. We had proofs of this on several other occasions ; nay, it appeared, that even those who lived in the Sound were not united in the same cause : for the weaker were frequently obliged to give way to the stronger party, and plundered of every thing, without attempting to make the least resistance.

We resumed our work in the afternoon, and, the next day, rigged the fore-mast ; the head of which being rather too

small for the cap, the carpenter went to work, to fix a piece on one side, to fill up the vacant space. In cutting into the mast-head for this purpose, and examining the state of it, both cheeks were found to be so rotten, that there was no possibility of repairing them ; and it became necessary to get the mast out, and to fix new ones upon it. It was evident, that one of the cheeks had been defective at the first, and that the unsound part had been cut out, and a piece put in ; which had not only weakened the mast-head, but had, in a great measure, been the occasion of rotting every other part of both cheeks. Thus, when we were almost ready to put to sea, we had all our work to do over again ; and, what was still more provoking, an additional repair was to be undertaken, which would require some time to be completed. But, as there was no remedy, we immediately set about it. It was fortunate for the voyage, that these defects were discovered, when we were in a place, where the materials requisite were to be procured. For, amongst the drift-wood in the cove where the ships lay, were some small seasoned trees very fit for our purpose. One of these was pitched upon ; and the carpenters began, without loss of time, to make out of it two new cheeks.

In the morning of the 7th, we got the fore-mast out, and hauled it ashore ; and the carpenters of the ships were set to work upon it. Some parts of the lower standing rigging having been found to be very much decayed, as we had time now to put them in order, while the carpenters were repairing the fore-mast, I ordered a new set of main-rigging to be fitted, and a more perfect set of fore-rigging to be selected out of the best parts of the old.

From the time of our putting into the Sound till now, the weather had been exceedingly fine, without either wind or rain. That comfort, at the very moment when the continuance of it would have been of most service, was withdrawn. In the morning of the 8th, the wind freshened at south-east, attended with thick hazy weather and rain. In the afternoon

the wind increased ; and, towards the evening, it blew very hard. It came, in excessively heavy squalls, from over the high land on the opposite shore, right into the cove ; and, though the ships were very well moored, put them in some danger. These tempestuous blasts succeeded each other pretty quick ; but they were of short duration ; and in the intervals between them we had a perfect calm. According to the old proverb, misfortunes seldom come single ; the mizen was now the only mast on board the Resolution that remained rigged, with its topmost up. The former was so defective, that it could not support the latter during the violence of the squalls, but gave way at the head under the rigging. About eight o'clock the gale abated, but the rain continued with very little intermission for several days ; and that the carpenters might be enabled to proceed in their labours, while it prevailed, a tent was erected over the foremast, where they could work with some degree of convenience. The bad weather which now came on, did not, however, hinder the natives from visiting us daily ; and in such circumstances their visits were very advantageous to us ; for they frequently brought us a tolerable supply of fish, when we could not catch any ourselves with hook and line, and there was not a place near us where we could draw a net. The fish which they brought us were either sardines, or what resembled them much, a small kind of bream, and sometimes small cod.

On the 11th, notwithstanding the rainy weather, the main-rigging was fixed and got over head ; and our employment, the day after, was to take down the mizen-mast, the head of which proved to be so rotten, that it dropped off while in the slings. In the evening we were visited by a tribe of natives whom we had never seen before, and who, in general, were better looking people than most of our old friends, some of whom attended them. I prevailed upon these visitors to go down into the cabin for the first time, and observed that there was not a single object that fixed

their attention for a moment, their countenances marking that they looked upon all our novelties with the utmost indifference. A few of them however shewed a certain degree of curiosity.

In the afternoon of the next day, I went into the woods with a party of our men, and cut down a tree for a mizen-mast. On the day following, it was brought to the place where the carpenters were employed upon the fore-mast. In the evening, the wind, which had been, for some time, westerly, veered to south-east, and increased to a very hard gale, with rain, which continued till eight o'clock the next morning, when it abated and veered again to the west.

The fore-mast being, by this time, finished, we hauled it along-side, but the bad weather prevented our getting it in till the afternoon : we set about rigging it with the greatest expedition, while the carpenters were going on with the mizen-mast on shore. They had made very considerable progress in it on the 16th, when they discovered that the stick upon which they were at work was sprung or wounded, owing, as supposed, to some accident in cutting it down ; so that all their labour was thrown away, and it became necessary to get another tree out of the woods, which employed all hands above half a day. During these various operations, several of the natives, who were about the ships, looked on with an expressive silent surprise, which we did not expect from their general indifference and inattention.

On the 18th, a party of strangers, in six or eight canoes, came into the cove, where they remained looking at us for some time, and then retired without coming along side either ship. We supposed that our old friends, who were more numerous at this time, about us, than these new visitors, would not permit them to have any intercourse with us. It was evident upon this and several other occasions, that the inhabitants of the adjoining parts of the Sound engrossed us entirely to themselves ; or if, at any time, they did not hinder strangers from trading with us, they

contrived to manage the trade for them in such a manner, that the price of their commodities was always kept up, while the value of ours was lessening every day. We also found, that many of the principal natives, who lived near us, carried on a trade with the more distant tribes, in the articles they had procured from us. For we observed that they would frequently disappear for four or five days at a time, and then return with fresh cargoes of skins and curiosities, which our people were so passionately fond of, that they always came to a good market. But we received most benefit from such of the natives as visited us daily. These, after disposing of all their little trifles, turned their attention to fishing; and we never failed to partake of what they caught. We also got from these people a considerable quantity of animal oil, which they had reserved in bladders. In this traffic some would attempt to cheat us, by mixing water with the oil; and, once or twice, they had the address to carry their imposition so far, as to fill their bladders with mere water, without a single drop of oil. It was always better to bear with these tricks than to make them the foundation of a quarrel; for our articles of traffic consisted, for the most part, of mere trifles; and yet we were put to our shifts to find a constant supply even of these. Beads, and such other toys, of which I had still some left, were in little estimation. Nothing would go down with our visitors but metal; and brass had, by this time, supplanted iron; being so eagerly sought after, that before we left this place, hardly a bit of it was left in the ships, except what belonged to our necessary instruments. Whole suits of clothes were stripped of every button; bureaus of their furniture; and copper kettles, tin canisters, candlesticks, and the like, all went to wreck; so that our American friends here got a greater medley and variety of things from us, than any other nation we had visited in the course of our voyage.

After a fortnight's bad weather, the 19th proving a fair day, we availed ourselves of it, to get up the top-masts and



yards, and to fix up the rigging. And, having now finished most of our heavy work, I set out the next morning to take a view of the Sound. I first went to the west point, where I found a large village, and, before it, a very snug harbour, in which was from nine to four fathoms water, over a bottom of fine sand. The people of this village, who were numerous, and to most of whom I was well known, received me very courteously; every one pressing me to go into his house, or rather his apartment, for several families live under the same roof. I did not decline the invitations; and my hospitable friends, whom I visited, spread a mat for me to sit down upon, and shewed me every other mark of civility. In most of the houses were women at work, making dresses of the plant or bark before mentioned, which they executed exactly in the same manner that the New Zealanders manufacture their cloth. Others were occupied in opening sardines. I had seen a large quantity of them brought on shore from canoes, and divided by measure amongst several people, who carried them up to their houses, where the operation of curing by smoke-drying is performed. They hang them on small rods; at first, about a foot from the fire; afterward they remove them higher and higher, to make room for others, till the rods, on which the fish hang, reach the top of the house. When they are completely dried, they are taken down and packed close in bales, which they cover with mats. Thus they are kept till wanted; and they are not a disagreeable article of food. Cod, and other large fish, are also cured in the same manner by them; though they sometimes dry them in the open air, without fire.

From this village I proceeded up the west side of the Sound. For about three miles, I found the shore covered with small islands, which are so situated as to form several convenient harbours, having various depths of water, from thirty to seven fathoms, with a good bottom. Two leagues within the Sound, on the west side, there runs in an arm in the direction of north-north-west; and two miles farther is

another, nearly in the same direction, with a pretty large island before it. I had no time to examine either of these arms ; but have reason to believe that they do not extend far inland, as the water was no more than brackish at their entrances. A mile above the second arm, I found the remains of a village. The logs or framings of the houses were standing ; but the boards that had composed their sides and roofs did not exist. Before this village were some large fishing wears ; but I saw nobody attending them. These wears were composed of pieces of wickerwork made of small rods, some closer than others, according to the fish intended to be caught in them. These pieces of wickerwork, some of whose superficies are, at least, twenty feet by twelve, are fixed up edgewise in the water, by strong poles or pickets, that stand firm in the ground. Behind the ruined village is a plain of a few acres extent, covered with the largest pine-trees that I ever saw. This was more remarkable, as the elevated ground, on most other parts of the west side of the Sound, was rather naked.

From this place, I crossed over to the other, or east side of the Sound, passing an arm of it that ran north-north-east, to appearance not far. I now found, what I had before conjectured, that the land, under which the ships lay, was an island ; and that there were many smaller ones lying scattered in the Sound on the west side of it. Opposite the north end of our large island, upon the main land, I observed a village, and there I landed. The inhabitants of it were not so polite as those of the other I had just visited. But this cold reception seemed, in a great measure, if not entirely, owing to one surly chief, who would not let me enter their houses, following me wherever I went ; and several times, by expressive signs, marking his impatience that I should be gone. I attempted in vain to soothe him by presents ; but though he did not refuse them, they did not alter his behaviour. Some of the young women, better pleased with us than was our inhospitable chief, dressed

themselves expeditiously in their best apparel, and, assembling in a body, welcomed us to their village, by joining in a song, which was far from harsh or disagreeable.

The day being now far spent, I proceeded for the ships, round the north end of the large island; meeting, in my way, with several canoes laden with sardines, which had been just caught, somewhere in the east corner of the Sound. When I got on board, I was informed, that, while I was absent, the ships had been visited by some strangers, in two or three large canoes, who, by signs, made our people to understand that they came from the south-east, beyond the bay. They brought several skins, garments, and other articles, which they bartered. But, what was most singular, two silver table spoons were purchased from them, which, from their peculiar shape, were judged to be of Spanish manufacture. One of these strangers wore them round his neck by way of ornament. These visitors also appeared to be more plentifully supplied with iron than the inhabitants of the Sound.

On the 22nd, about eight o'clock, we were visited by a number of strangers, in twelve or fourteen canoes. They came into the cove from the southward, and as soon as they had turned the point of it, they stopped, and lay, drawn up in a body, above half an hour, about two or three hundred yards from the ships. At first, we thought that they were afraid to come nearer; but we were mistaken in this, and they were only preparing an introductory ceremony. On advancing towards the ships, they all stood up in their canoes, and began to sing. Some of their songs, in which the whole body joined, were in a slow, and others in quicker time; and they accompanied their notes with the most regular motions of their hands; or beating in concert, with their paddles, on the sides of the canoes; and making other very expressive gestures. At the end of each song, they remained silent a few seconds, and then began again, pronouncing the word *hoee!* forcibly, as a chorus. After

entertaining us with this specimen of their music, which we listened to with admiration, for above half an hour, they came along-side the ships, and bartered what they had to dispose of. Some of our old friends of the Sound were now found to be amongst them ; and they took the whole management of the traffic between us and the strangers, much to the advantage of the latter.

Our attendance on these visitors being finished, Capt. Clerke and I went, in the forenoon, in two boats to the village at the west point of the Sound. When I was there before, I had observed that plenty of grass grew near it ; and it was necessary to lay in a quantity of this, as food for the few goats and sheep which were still left on board. The inhabitants received us with the same demonstrations of friendship which I had experienced before ; and the moment we landed, I ordered some of our people to begin their operation of cutting. I had not the least notion that the natives could make any objection to our furnishing ourselves with what seemed to be of no use to them, but was necessary for us. However, I was mistaken ; for, the moment our men began to cut, some of the inhabitants interposed, and would not permit them to proceed, saying they must "makook ;" that is, must first buy it. I was now in one of the houses ; but as soon as I heard of this, I went to the field, where I found about a dozen of the natives, each of whom laid claim to some of the grass that grew in this place. I bargained with them for it, and having completed the purchase, thought that we were now at liberty to cut whatever we pleased. But here, again, it appeared that I was under a mistake, for the liberal manner in which I had paid the first pretended proprietors, brought fresh demands upon me from others ; so that there did not seem to be a single blade of grass that had not a separate owner ; and so many of them were to be satisfied, that I very soon emptied my pockets. When they found that I really had nothing more to give, their importunities ceased, and we were permitted

to cut wherever we pleased, and as much as we chose to carry away.

Here I must observe, that I have no where, in my several voyages, met with any uncivilized nation or tribe, who had such strict notions of their having a right to the exclusive property of every thing that their country produces, as the inhabitants of this Sound. At first, they wanted our people to pay for the wood and water that they carried on board; and had I been upon the spot, when these demands were made, I should certainly have complied with them. Our workmen, in my absence, thought differently, for they took but little notice of such claims; and the natives, when they found that we were determined to pay nothing, ceased to apply: but they made a merit of necessity, and frequently took occasion to remind us that they had given us wood and water out of friendship.

During the time I was at this village, Mr. Webber, who had attended me thither, made drawings of every thing that was curious, both within and without doors. I had also an opportunity of inspecting more narrowly the construction of the houses, household furniture, and utensils, and the peculiarities of the customs and modes of living of the inhabitants. When we had completed all our operations at this village, the natives and we parted very good friends, and we got back to the ships in the afternoon. The three following days were employed in getting ready to put to sea; the sails were bent; the observatories and instruments, brewing vessels, and other things, were moved from the shore; some small spars, for different uses, and pieces of timber, which might be occasionally sawn into boards, were prepared and put on board; and both ships were cleared and put into a sailing condition.

Every thing being now ready, in the morning of the 26th I intended to have put to sea; but both wind and tide being against us, I was obliged to wait till noon, when the south-west wind was succeeded by a calm; and the tide turning

in our favour, we cast off the moorings, and with our boats towed the ships out of the cove. After this, we had variable light airs and calms, till four in the afternoon, when a breeze sprung up northerly, with very thick hazy weather. The mercury in the barometer fell unusually low, and we had every other forerunner of an approaching storm, which we had reason to expect would be from the southward. This made me hesitate a little, as night was at hand, whether I should venture to sail, or wait till the next morning. But my anxious impatience to proceed upon the voyage, and the fear of losing this opportunity of getting out of the Sound, making a greater impression on my mind, than any apprehension of immediate danger, I determined to put to sea at all events.

Our friends, the natives, attended us, till we were almost out of the Sound; some on board the ships, and others in their canoes. One of their chiefs, who had, some time before, attached himself to me, was among the last who left us. Having, before he went, bestowed upon him a small present, I received in return a beaver skin of much greater value. This called upon me to make some addition to my present; which pleased him so much that he insisted upon my acceptance of the beaver-skin cloak which he then wore, and of which I knew he was particularly fond. Struck with this instance of generosity, and desirous that he should be no sufferer by his friendship to me, I presented to him a new broad-sword, with a brass hilt, the possession of which made him completely happy.

Such particulars of the inhabitants, as came to our knowledge, during our short stay, and have not already been mentioned in the course of the narrative, I shall now proceed to relate.

The persons of the natives are, in general, under the common stature; but not slender in proportion, being commonly pretty full or plump, though not muscular. Neither doth the soft fleshiness ever swell into corpulence; and



many of the older people are rather spare, or lean. The visage of most of them is round and full; and sometimes, also, broad, with high prominent cheeks; and, above these, the face is frequently depressed, or seems fallen in across the temples; the nose, also, flattening at its base, with pretty wide nostrils, and a rounded point. The forehead rather low; the eyes small, black, and rather languishing than sparkling; the mouth round, with large, round, thickish lips; the teeth tolerably equal and well set, but not remarkably white. They have either no beards at all, which was most commonly the case, or a small thin one upon the point of the chin; which does not arise from any natural defect of hair on that part, but from plucking it out more or less; for some of them, and particularly the old men, have not only considerable beards all over the chin, but whiskers, or mustachies; both on the upper lip, and running from thence towards the lower jaw, obliquely downward. Their eyebrows are also scanty, and always narrow; but the hair of their head, is in great abundance, very coarse and strong; and, without a single exception, black, straight, and lank, or hanging down over the shoulders. The neck is short; the arms and body have no particular mark of beauty or elegance in their formation, but are rather clumsy; and the limbs, in all, are very small in proportion to the other parts, and crooked, or ill made, with large feet badly shaped, and projecting ankles. This last defect seems, in a great measure, to arise from their sitting so much on their hams or knees, both in their canoes and houses.

Their colour we could never positively determine, as their bodies were incrustated with paint and dirt; though, in particular cases, when these were well rubbed off, the whiteness of the skin appeared almost to equal that of Europeans; though rather of that pale effete cast which distinguishes those of our southern nations. Their children, whose skins had never been stained with paint, also equalled ours in whiteness. During their youth, some of them have

no disagreeable look, if compared to the generality of the people; but this seems to be entirely owing to the particular animation attending that period of life; for, after attaining a certain age, there is scarcely any distinction. Upon the whole, a very remarkable sameness seems to characterize the countenances of the whole nation; a dull phlegmatic want of expression, with very little variation, being strongly marked in all of them. The women are nearly of the same size, colour, and form, with the men; from whom it is not easy to distinguish them, as they possess no natural delicacies sufficient to render their persons agreeable; and hardly any one was seen, even amongst those who were in the prime of life, who had the least pretensions to be called handsome.

Their common dress is a flaxen garment, or mantle, ornamented on the upper edge by a narrow strip of fur, and, at the lower edge, by fringes or tassels. It passes under the left arm, and is tied over the right shoulder, by a string before, and one behind, near its middle; by which means both arms are left free; and it hangs evenly, covering the left side, but leaving the right open, except from the loose part of the edges falling upon it, unless when the mantle is fastened by a girdle (of coarse matting or woollen) round the waist, which is often done. Over this, which reaches below the knees, is worn a small cloak of the same substance, likewise fringed at the lower part. In shape this resembles a round dish cover, being quite close, except in the middle, where there is a hole just large enough to admit the head; and then, resting upon the shoulders, it covers the arms to the elbows, and the body as far as the waist. Their head is covered with a cap, of the figure of a truncated cone, or like a flower-pot, made of fine matting, having the top frequently ornamented with a round or pointed knob, or bunch of leathern tassels; and there is a string that passes under the chin, to prevent its blowing off. Besides the above dress, which is common to both sexes,

the men frequently throw over their other garments the skin of a bear, wolf, or sea otter, with the hair outward, and tie it, as a cloak, near the upper part, wearing it sometimes before, and sometimes behind. In rainy weather they throw a coarse mat about their shoulders. They have also woollen garments, which, however, are little in use. The hair is commonly worn hanging down loose; but some, when they have no cap, tie it in a bunch on the crown of the head. Their dress, upon the whole, is convenient, and would not be inelegant, were it kept clean. But as they rub their bodies constantly over with a red paint, of a clayey or coarse ochery substance, mixed with oil, their garments, by this means, contract a rancid offensive smell, and a greasy nastiness: so that they make a very wretched dirty appearance; and what is still worse, their heads and their garments swarm with vermin, which, so depraved is their taste for cleanliness, we used to see them pick off with great composure and eat.

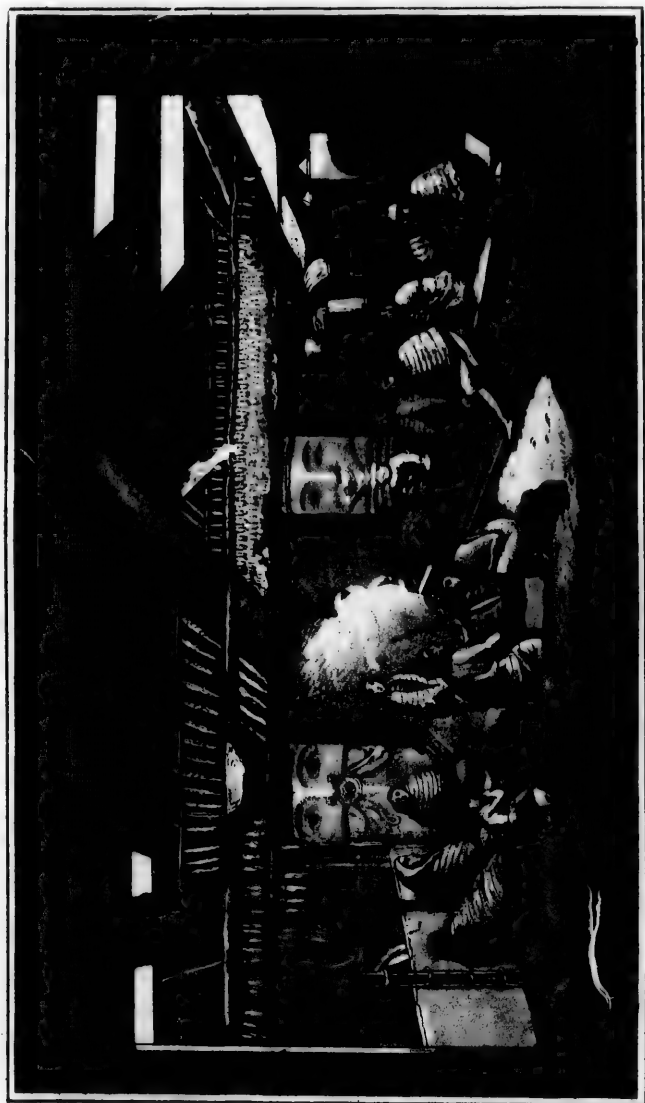
Their bodies are always covered with red paint; and their faces are often stained with a black, a brighter red, or a white colour, by way of ornament. The last of these gives them a ghastly, disgusting aspect. They also strew the brown martial mica upon the paint, which makes it glitter. The ears of many of them are perforated in the lobe, where they make a pretty large hole; and two others higher up on the outer edge. In these holes they hang bits of bone; quills fixed upon a leathern thong; small shells; bunches of woollen tassels; or pieces of thin copper, which our beads could never supplant. The septum of the nose, in many, is also perforated, through which they draw a piece of soft cord; and others wear, at the same place, small thin pieces of iron, brass, or copper, shaped almost like a horse-shoe, the narrow opening of which receives the septum, so that the two points may gently pinch it; and the ornament thus hangs over the upper lip. The rings of our brass buttons, which they eagerly purchased, were appropriated to

this use. About their wrists they wear bracelets or bunches of white bugle beads, made of a conic shelly substance ; bunches of thongs, with tassels ; or a black shining horny substance, of one piece. And about their ancles they frequently wear many folds of leathern thongs, or the sinews of animals twisted to a considerable thickness.

Thus far for their ordinary dress and ornaments ; but they have some that seem to be only used on extraordinary occasions ; either when they exhibit themselves as strangers, in visits of ceremony, or when they go to war. Amongst the first may be considered the skins of animals, such as wolves or bears, tied on in the usual manner, but ornamented at the edges with broad borders of fur, or of the woollen stuff manufactured by them, ingeniously wrought with various figures. These are worn either separately, or over their other common garments. On such occasions, the most common head-dress is a quantity of withy, or half beaten bark, wrapped about the head ; which, at the same time, has various large feathers, particularly those of eagles, stuck in it, or it is entirely covered, or, we may say powdered with small white feathers. The face, at the same time, is variously painted, having its upper and lower parts of different colours, the strokes appearing like fresh gashes ; or it is besmeared with a kind of tallow, mixed with print, which is afterward formed into a variety of regular figures, and appears like carved work. Sometimes, again, the hair is separated into small parcels, which are tied at intervals of about two inches, to the end with thread ; and others tie it together behind, after our manner, and stick branches of the cypressus thyoides in it. Thus dressed, they have a truly savage and incongruous appearance ; but this is much heightened when they assume, what may be called their monstrous decorations. These consist of an endless variety of carved wooden masks or visors, applied on the face, or on the upper part of the head or forehead. Some of these resemble human faces, furnished with hair, beards, and

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Engraved by J. E. Hunt

*Inside of a House in North Street.*

London. Published by Jacques & Wright, Paternoster Row, 1824



eye-brows ; others, the heads of birds, particularly of eagles and quebrantahuessos ; and many, the heads of land and sea animals, such as deer, wolves, porpoises, and others. But, in general, these representations much exceed the natural size ; and they are painted, and often strewed with pieces of the foliaceous mica, which makes them glitter, and serves to augment their enormous deformity. They even exceed this sometimes, and fix on the same part of the head large pieces of carved work, resembling the prow of a canoe, painted in the same manner, and projecting to a considerable distance. So fond are they of these disguises, that I have seen one of them put his head into a tin kettle he had got from us, for want of another sort of mask. Whether they use these extravagant masquerade ornaments on any particular religious occasion, or diversion ; or whether they be put on to intimidate their enemies when they go to battle, by their monstrous appearance ; or as decoys when they go to hunt animals, is uncertain. But it may be concluded, that, if travellers or voyagers, in an ignorant and credulous age, when many unnatural and marvellous things were supposed to exist, had seen a number of people decorated in this manner, without being able to approach so near as to be undeceived, they would readily have believed, and, in their relation, would have attempted to make others believe, that there existed a race of beings, partaking of the nature of man and beast ; more especially, when, besides the heads of animals on the human shoulders, they might have seen the whole bodies of their men-monsters covered with quadrupeds' skins.

The only dress amongst the people of Nootka, observed by us, that seems peculiarly adapted to war, is a thick leathern mantle doubled, which, from its size, appears to be the skin of an elk or buffalo, tanned. This they fasten on, in the common manner ; and it is so contrived, that it may reach up, and cover the breast quite to the throat, falling, at the same time, almost to the heels. It is, sometimes,

*Inside of a House in Nootka Sound.*

*London. Published by Jacques & Wright, Paternoster Row, 1824*

*Entered by J. P. Reid*

ingeniously painted in different compartments ; and is not only sufficiently strong to resist arrows ; but, as they informed us by signs, even spears cannot pierce it ; so that it may be considered as their coat of mail, or most complete defensive armour. Upon the same occasion, they sometimes wear a kind of leathern cloak, covered with rows of dried hoofs of deer, disposed horizontally, appended by leathern thongs, covered with quills ; which, when they move, make a loud rattling noise, almost equal to that of many small bells. It seems doubtful, however, whether this part of their garb be intended to strike terror in war, or only is to be considered as belonging to their eccentric ornaments on ceremonious occasions. For we saw one of their musical entertainments, conducted by a man dressed in this sort of cloak, with his mask on, and shaking his rattle.

Though these people cannot be viewed without a kind of horror, when equipped in such extravagant dresses, yet, when divested of them, and beheld in their common habit and actions, they have not the least appearance of ferocity in their countenances ; and seem, on the contrary, as observed already, to be of a quiet, phlegmatic, and inactive disposition ; destitute, in some measure, of that degree of animation and vivacity that would render them agreeable as social beings. If they are not reserved, they are far from being loquacious ; but their gravity is, perhaps, rather a consequence of the disposition just mentioned, than of any conviction of its propriety, or the effect of any particular mode of education. For, even in the greatest paroxysms of their rage, they seem unable to express it sufficiently, either with warmth of language, or significancy of gestures. Their orations, which are made either when engaged in any altercation or dispute, or to explain their sentiments publicly on other occasions, seem little more than short sentences, or rather single words, forcibly repeated, and constantly in one tone and degree of strength, accompanied only with a single gesture, which they use at every sentence, jerking

their whole body a little forward, by bending the knees, their arms hanging down by their sides at the same time.

Though there be too much reason, from their bringing to sale human skulls and bones, to infer that they treat their enemies with a degree of brutal cruelty, this circumstance rather marks a general agreement of character with that of almost every tribe of uncivilized man, in every age and in every part of the globe, than that they are to be reproached with any charge of peculiar inhumanity. We had no reason to judge unfavourably of their disposition in this respect. They seemed to be a docile, courteous, good-natured people; but, notwithstanding the predominant phlegm of their tempers, quick in resenting what they look upon as an injury; and, like most other passionate people, as soon forgetting it. I never found these fits of passion went farther than the parties immediately concerned; the spectators not troubling themselves about the quarrel, whether it was with any of us, or amongst their own body; and preserving as much indifference as if they had not known any thing about it. I have often seen one of them rave and scold, without any of his countrymen paying the least attention to his agitation; and when none of us could trace the cause, or the object of his displeasure. In such cases, they never discover the least symptom of timidity, but seem determined, at all events, to punish the insult. For, even with respect to us, they never appeared to be under the least apprehension of our superiority; but when any difference happened, were just as ready to avenge the wrong, as amongst themselves.

Their other passions, especially their curiosity, appear to lie dormant. For few expressed any desire to see or examine things wholly unknown to them; and which, to those truly possessed of that passion, would have appeared astonishing. They were always contented to procure the articles they knew and wanted, regarding every thing else with the greatest indifference; nor did our persons, apparel, and manners, so different from their own, or even the extra-

ordinary size and construction of our ships, seem to excite admiration, or even astonishment. One cause of this may be their indolence, which seems considerable. But, on the other hand, they certainly are not wholly unsusceptible of the tender passions; if we may judge from their being so fond of music, which is mostly of the grave or serious, but truly pathetic sort. They keep the exactest concert in their songs, which are often sung by great numbers together, as those already mentioned, with which they used to entertain us in their canoes. These are generally slow and solemn; but the music is not of that confined sort found amongst many rude nations; for the variations are very numerous and expressive, and the cadence or melody powerfully soothing. Besides their full concerts, sonnets of the same grave cast were frequently sung by single performers, who keep time by striking the hand against the thigh. However, the music was sometimes varied, from its predominant solemnity of air; and there were instances of stanzas being sung in a more gay and lively strain, and even with a degree of humour. The only instruments of music, (if such they may be called) which I saw amongst them, were a rattle; and a small whistle, about an inch long, incapable of variation, from having but one hole. They use the rattle when they sing, but upon what occasions they use the whistle I know not, unless it be when they dress themselves like particular animals, and endeavour to imitate their howl or cry. I once saw one of them dressed in a wolf's skin, with the head over his own, and imitating that animal by making a squeaking noise with one of these whistles, which he had in his mouth. The rattles are, for the most part, made in the shape of a bird, with a few pebbles in the belly, and the tail is the handle. They have others, however, which bear more resemblance to a child's rattle.

In trafficking with us, some of them would betray a knavish disposition, and carry off our goods without making any return. But, in general, it was otherwise; and we

had abundant reason to commend the fairness of their conduct. However, their eagerness to possess iron and brass, and indeed, any kind of metal, was so great, that few could resist the temptation whenever an opportunity offered. The inhabitants of the South Sea Islands, as appears from a variety of instances in the course of this voyage, rather than be idle, would steal any thing they could lay their hands upon, without ever considering, whether it could be of use to them or not. The novelty of the object, with them, was a sufficient motive for their endeavouring, by any indirect means, to get possession of it; which marked that, in such cases, they were rather actuated by a childish curiosity, than by a dishonest disposition, regardless of the mode of supplying real wants. The inhabitants of Nootka, who invaded our property, cannot have such apology made for them. They were thieves in the strictest sense of the word; for they pilfered nothing from us, but what they knew could be converted to the purposes of private utility, and had a real value according to their estimation of things. And it was lucky for us, that nothing was thought valuable by them, but the single article of our metals. Linen, and such like things, were perfectly secure from their depredations; and we could safely leave them hanging out ashore all night, without watching. The same principle which prompted our Nootka friends to pilfer from us, it was natural to suppose, would produce a similar conduct in their intercourse with each other. And, accordingly, we had abundant reason to believe that stealing is much practised amongst them, and that it chiefly gives rise to their quarrels, of which we saw more than one instance.

The two towns or villages, mentioned in the course of my journal, seem to be the only inhabited parts of the Sound. The number of inhabitants in both might be pretty exactly computed from the canoes that were about the ships the second day after our arrival. They amounted to about a

hundred; which, upon a very moderate allowance, must, upon an average, have held five persons each; but as there were scarcely any women, very old men, children, or youths amongst them at that time, I think it will rather be rating the number of the inhabitants of the two towns too low, if we suppose they could be less than four times the number of our visitors; that is, two thousand in the whole.

The village at the entrance of the Sound stands on the side of a rising ground, which has a pretty steep ascent from the beach to the verge of the wood, in which space it is situated.

The houses are disposed in three ranges or rows, rising gradually behind each other; the largest being that in front, and the others less; besides a few straggling, or single ones, at each end. These ranges are interrupted or disjointed at irregular distances by narrow paths, or lanes, that pass upward; but those that run in the direction of the houses, between the rows, are much broader. Though there be some appearance of regularity in this disposition, there is none in the single houses; for each of the divisions, made by the paths, may be considered either as one house, or as many; there being no regular or complete separation, either without or within, to distinguish them by. They are built of very long and broad planks, resting upon the edges of each other, fastened or tied with withes of pine bark, here and there; and have only slender posts, or rather poles, at considerable distances, on the outside, to which they are also tied; but within are some larger poles placed aslant. The height of the sides and ends of these habitations, is seven or eight feet; but the back part is a little higher, by which means the planks, that compose the roof, slant forward, and are laid on loose, so as to be moved about; either to be put close, to exclude the rain; or, in fair weather, to be separated, to let in the light, and to carry out the smoke. They are, however, upon the whole, miserable dwellings, and constructed with little care or ingenuity.



For, though the side-planks be made to fit pretty closely in some places, in others they are quite open; and there are no regular doors into them; the only way of entrance being either by a hole, where the unequal length of the planks has accidentally left an opening; or, in some cases, the planks are made to pass a little beyond each other, or overlap, about two feet asunder; and the entrance is in this space. There are also holes, or windows, in the sides of the houses to look out at; but without any regularity of shape or disposition; and these have bits of mats hung before them, to prevent the rain getting in.

On the inside, one may frequently see from one end to the other of these ranges of building without interruption. For though, in general, there be the rudiments, or rather vestiges, of separations on each side, for the accommodation of different families, they are such as do not intercept the sight; and often consist of no more than pieces of plank, running from the side towards the middle of the house; so that, if they were complete, the whole might be compared to a long stable, with a double range of stalls, and a broad passage in the middle. Close to the sides, in each of these parts, is a little bench of boards, raised five or six inches higher than the rest of the floor, and covered with mats, on which the family sit and sleep. These benches are commonly seven or eight feet long, and four or five broad. In the middle of the floor, between them, is the fire-place, which has neither hearth nor chimney. In one house, which was in the end of a middle range, almost quite separated from the rest by a high, close partition, and the most regular, as to design, of any that I saw, there were four of these benches; each of which held a single family, at a corner, but without any separation by boards; and the middle part of the house appeared common to them all.

Their furniture consists chiefly of a great number of chests and boxes of all sizes, which are generally piled upon each other, close to the sides or ends of the house; and con-

tain their spare garments, skins, masks, and other things which they set a value upon. Some of these are double, or one covers the other as a lid ; others have a lid fastened with thongs ; and some of the very large ones have a square hole, or scuttle, cut in the upper part ; by which the things are put in and taken out. They are often painted black, studded with the teeth of different animals, or carved with a kind of freeze-work, and figures of birds or animals, as decorations. Their other domestic utensils are mostly square and oblong pails or buckets to hold water or other things ; round wooden cups and bowls ; and small shallow wooden troughs, about two feet long, out of which they eat their food ; baskets of twigs, bags of matting, &c. Their fishing implements, and other things also, lie or hang up in different parts of the house, but without the least order ; so that the whole is a complete scene of confusion ; and the only places that do not partake of this confusion are the sleeping benches, which have nothing on them but the mats ; which are also cleaner, or of a finer sort, than those they commonly have to sit on in their boats.

The nastiness and stench of their houses are, however, at least equal to the confusion. For, as they dry their fish within doors, they also gut them there, which, with their bones and fragments thrown down at meals, and the addition of other sorts of filth, lie every where in heaps, and are, I believe, never carried away, till it becomes troublesome, from their size, to walk over them. In a word, their houses are as filthy as hog-sties ; every thing in and about them stinking of fish, train-oil, and smoke. But, amidst all the filth and confusion that are found in their houses, many of them are decorated with images. These are nothing more than the trunks of very large trees, four or five feet high, set up singly, or by pairs, at the upper end of the apartment, with the front carved into a human face ; the arms and hands cut out upon the sides, and variously painted ; so that the whole is a truly monstrous figure. The general name of

these images is Klumma; and the names of two particular ones, which stood abreast of each other, three or four feet asunder, in one of the houses, were Natchkoa and Matseeta. Mr Webber's view of the inside of a Nootka house, in which these images are represented, will convey a more perfect idea of them than any description. A mat, by way of curtain, for the most part, hung before them, which the natives were not willing, at all times, to remove; and when they did unveil them, they seemed to speak of them in a very mysterious manner. It should seem that they are, at times, accustomed to make offerings to them; if we can draw this inference from their desiring us, as we interpreted their signs, to give something to these images, when they drew aside the mats that covered them. Mr. Webber was obliged to repeat his offerings frequently, before he could be permitted to finish his drawing of these images. The following account is in his own words. "After having made a general view of their habitations, I sought for an inside, which might furnish me with sufficient matter to convey a perfect idea of the mode in which these people live. Such was soon found. While I was employed, a man approached me with a large knife in his hand, seemingly displeased, when he observed that my eyes were fixed on two representations of human figures, which were placed at one end of the apartment, carved on planks, of a gigantic proportion, and painted after their custom. However, I took as little notice of him as possible, and proceeded; to prevent which, he soon provided himself with a mat, and placed it in such a manner as to hinder my having any longer a sight of them. Being pretty certain that I could have no future opportunity to finish my drawing, and the object being too interesting to be omitted, I considered that a little bribery might have some effect. Accordingly I made an offer of a button from my coat, which, being of metal, I thought they would be pleased with. This, instantly, produced the desired effect. For the mat was removed, and I was left at liberty to proceed as before. Scarcely had I seated myself, and

made a beginning, when he returned and renewed his former practice, continuing it till I had parted with every single button; and when he saw that he had completely stripped me, I met with no farther obstruction."

It was very natural for us, from these circumstances, to think that they were representatives of their gods, or symbols of some religious or superstitious object: and yet we had proofs of the little estimation they were in; for, with a small quantity of iron or brass, I could have purchased all the gods (if their images were such) in the place. I did not see one that was not offered to me; and I actually got two or three of the very smallest sort.

The chief employment of the men seems to be that of fishing, and killing land or sea animals, for the sustenance of their families; for we saw few of them doing any thing in the houses; whereas the women were occupied in manufacturing their flaxen or woollen garments, and in preparing the sardines for drying; which they also carry up from the beach in twig-baskets, after the men have brought them in their canoes. The women are also sent in the small canoes to gather muscles and other shell-fish; and perhaps on some other occasions; for they manage these with as much dexterity as the men; who, when in the canoes with them, seem to pay little attention to their sex, by offering to relieve them from the labour of the paddle; nor, indeed, do they treat them with any particular respect or tenderness in other situations. The young men appeared to be the most indolent or idle set in this community; for they were either sitting about, in scattered companies, to bask themselves in the sun, or lay wallowing in the sand upon the beach, like a number of hogs, for the same purpose, without any covering. But this disregard of decency was confined to the men. The women were always properly clothed, and behaved with the utmost propriety; justly deserving all commendation, for a bashfulness and modesty becoming their sex; but more meritorious in them as the men seem

to have no sense of shame. It is impossible, however, that we should have been able to observe the exact mode of their domestic life and employments, from a single visit (as the first was quite transitory,) of a few hours. For it may be easily supposed, that, upon such an occasion, most of the labour of all the inhabitants of the village would cease upon our arrival, and an interruption be given even to the usual manner of appearing in their houses, during their more remiss or social hours, when left to themselves. We were much better able to form some judgment of their disposition, and, in some measure, even of their method of living, from the frequent visits so many of them paid us at the ships, in their canoes; in which, it would seem, they spend a great deal of their time, at least in the summer season. For we observed that they not only eat and sleep frequently in them, but strip off their clothes, and lay themselves along to bask in the sun, in the same manner as we had seen practised at their village. Their canoes of the larger sort, are, indeed, sufficiently spacious for that purpose, and perfectly dry; so that, under shelter of a skin, they are, except in rainy weather, much more comfortable habitations than their houses. Though their food, strictly speaking, may be said to consist of every thing animal or vegetable that they can procure, the quantity of the latter bears an exceedingly small proportion to that of the former. Their greatest reliance seems to be upon the sea, as affording fish, muscles, and smaller shell-fish, and sea-animals. Of the first, the principal are herrings and sardines; the two species of bream formerly mentioned; and small cod. But the herrings and sardines are not only eaten fresh, in their season, but also serve as stores, which, after being dried and smoked, are preserved by being sewed up in mats, so as to form large bales, three or four feet square. It seems that the herrings also supply them with another grand resource for food, namely a vast quantity of roe, very curiously prepared. It is strewed upon, or, as it were, incrustated

about, small branches of the Canadian pine. They also prepare it upon a long narrow sea-grass, which grows plentifully upon the rocks, under water. This caviare, if it may be so called, is kept in baskets or bags of mat, and used occasionally, being first dipped in water. It may be considered as the winter bread of these people, and has no disagreeable taste. They also eat the roe of some other fish, which, from the size of its grains, must be very large; but it has a rancid taste and smell. It does not appear that they prepare any other fish in this manner, to preserve them for any length of time. For though they split and dry a few of the bream and chimæræ, which are very plentiful; they do not smoke them as the herrings and sardines. The next article, on which they seem to depend for a large proportion of their food, is the large muscle; great abundance of which are found in the Sound. These are roasted in their shells, then stuck upon long wooden skewers, and taken off occasionally as wanted; being eat without any other preparation, though they often dip them in oil, as a sauce. The other marine productions, such as the smaller shell-fish, though they contribute to increase the general stock, are by no means to be looked upon as a standing or material article of their food, when compared to those just mentioned.

Of the sea-animals, the most common that we saw in use amongst them, as food, is the porpoise; the fat, or rind of which, as well as the flesh, they cut in large pieces, and having dried them, as they do the herrings, eat them without any farther preparation. They also prepare a sort of broth from this animal, in its fresh state, in a singular manner, putting pieces of it in a square wooden vessel or bucket, with water, and then throwing heated stones into it. This operation they repeat till they think the contents are sufficiently stewed or seethed. They put in the fresh, and take out the other stones, with a cleft stick, which serves as tongs; the vessel being always placed near the fire for



that purpose. This is a pretty common dish amongst them ; and, from its appearance, seems to be strong, nourishing food. The oil which they procure from these and other sea-animals, is also used by them in great quantities ; both sipping it alone, with a large scoop or spoon, made of horn ; or mixing it with other food, as sauce.

It may also be presumed that they feed upon other sea-animals, such as seals, sea-otters, and whales ; not only from the skins of the two first being frequent amongst them, but from the great number of implements, of all sorts, intended to destroy these different animals ; which clearly points out their dependance upon them ; though, perhaps, they do not catch them in great plenty at all seasons ; which seemed to be the case while we lay there, as no great number of fresh skins, or pieces of flesh, were seen. The same might be said of the land-animals, which, though doubtless the natives sometimes kill them, appeared to be scarce at this time ; as we did not see a single piece of flesh belonging to any of them ; and though their skins be in tolerable plenty, it is probable that many of these are procured by traffic from other tribes. Upon the whole, it seems plain, from a variety of circumstances, that these people procure almost all their animal food from the sea, if we except a few birds, of which the gulls or sea-fowl, which they shoot with their arrows, are the most material.

As the Canadian pine-branches and sea-grass, on which the fish roe is strewed, may be considered as their only winter vegetables ; so, as the spring advances, they make use of several others, as they come in season. The most common of these, which we observed, were two sorts of liliaceous roots, one simply tunicated, the other granulated upon its surface, called mahkatte and koohquoppa, which have a mild sweetish taste, and are mucilaginous, and eaten raw. The next, which they have in great quantities, is a root called aheita, resembling, in taste, our liquorice ; and another fern root, whose leaves were not yet disclosed. They also eat

raw, another small, sweetish, insipid root, about the thickness of sarsaparilla ; but we were ignorant of the plant to which it belongs ; and also of another root, which is very large and palmated, which we saw them dig up near the village, and afterwards eat it. It is also probable that, as the season advances, they have many which we did not see ; for though there be no appearance of cultivation amongst them, there are great quantities of alder, gooseberry, and currant bushes, whose fruits they may eat in their natural state, as we have seen them eat the leaves of the last, and of the lilies, just as they were plucked from the plant. It must, however, be observed, that one of the conditions they seem to require, in all food, is, that it should be of the bland, or less acrid kind ; for they would not eat the leek or garlic, though they brought vast quantities to sell, when they understood we were fond of it. Indeed, they seemed to have no relish for any of our food ; and when offered spirituous liquors, they rejected them as something unnatural and disgusting to the palate.

Though they sometimes eat small marine animals, in their fresh state, raw, it is their common practice to roast or broil their food ; for they are quite ignorant of our method of boiling ; unless we allow that of preparing the porpoise broth is such ; and, indeed, their vessels being all of wood, are quite insufficient for this purpose. Their manner of eating is exactly consonant to the nastiness of their houses and persons ; for the troughs and platters, in which they put their food, appear never to have been washed from the time they were first made, and the dirty remains of a former meal are only swept away by a succeeding one. They also tear every thing solid, or tough, to pieces, with their hands and teeth ; for though they make use of their knives to cut off the larger portions, they have not, as yet, thought of reducing these to smaller pieces and mouthfuls, by the same means, though obviously more convenient and cleanly. But they seem to have no idea of cleanliness ; for they eat

the roots which they dig from the ground, without so much as shaking off the soil that adheres to them. We are uncertain if they have any set time for meals; for we have seen them eat at all hours, in their canoes. And yet, from seeing several messes of the porpoise broth preparing toward noon, when we visited the village, I should suspect that they made a principal meal about that time.

Their weapons are bows and arrows, slings, spears, short truncheons of bone, something like the patoo patoo of New Zealand; and a small pick-axe, not unlike the common American tomahawk. The spear has generally a long point, made of bone. Some of the arrows are pointed with iron; but most commonly their points were of indented bone. The tomahawk is a stone, six or eight inches long, pointed at one end, and the other end fixed into a handle of wood. This handle resembles the head and neck of the human figure; and the stone is fixed in the mouth, so as to represent an enormously large tongue. To make the resemblance still stronger, human hair is also fixed to it. This weapon they call *taaweesh*, or *tsuskeeah*. They have another stone weapon called *seeaik*, nine inches or a foot long, with a square point. From the number of stone weapons, and others, we might almost conclude, that it is their custom to engage in close fight; and we had too convincing proofs that their wars were both frequent and bloody, from the vast number of human skulls which they brought to sell.

Their manufactures, and mechanic arts, are far more extensive and ingenious, whether we regard the design, or the execution, than could have been expected from the natural disposition of the people, and the little progress that civilization has made amongst them in other respects. The flaxen and woollen garments, with which they cover themselves; must necessarily engage their first care; and are the most material of those that can be ranked under the head of manufactures. The former of these are made of the bark of a pine-tree, beat into a hempen state. It is not spun,

but, after being properly prepared, is spread upon a stick, which is fastened across to two others that stand upright. It is disposed in such a manner, that the manufacturer, who sits on her hams at this simple machine, knots it across with small plaited threads, at the distance of half an inch from each other. Though, by this method, it be not so close or firm as cloth that is woven, the bunches between the knots make it sufficiently impervious to the air, by filling the interstices ; and it has the additional advantage of being softer and also more pliable. The woollen garments, though probably manufactured in the same manner, have the strongest resemblance to woven cloth. But the various figures which are very artificially inserted in them, destroy the supposition of their being wrought in a loom ; it being extremely unlikely, that these people should be so dexterous as to be able to finish such a complex work, unless immediately by their hands. They are of different degrees of fineness ; some resembling our coarsest rugs or blankets ; and others almost equal to our finest sorts, and even softer, and certainly warmer. The wool, of which they are made, seems to be taken from different animals, as the fox and brown lynx ; the last of which is by far the finest sort ; and, in its natural state, differs little from the colour of our coarser wools ; but the hair, with which the animal is also covered, being intermixed, its appearance, when wrought, is somewhat different. The ornamental parts or figures in these garments, which are disposed with great taste, are commonly of a different colour, being dyed chiefly either of a deep brown or of a yellow ; the last of which, when it is new, equals the best in our carpets as to brightness.

To their taste or design in working figures upon their garments, corresponds their fondness for carving, in every thing they make of wood. Nothing is without a kind of frieze-work, or the figure of some animal upon it ; but the most general representation is that of the human face, which

is often cut out upon birds and the other monstrous figures mentioned before; and even upon their stone and their bone weapons. The general design of all these things is perfectly sufficient to convey a knowledge of the object they are intended to represent; but the carving is not executed with the nicety that a dexterous artist would bestow even upon an indifferent design. The same, however, cannot be said of many of the human masks and heads, where they shew themselves to be ingenious sculptors. They not only preserve, with great exactness, the general character of their own faces, but finish the more minute parts with a degree of accuracy in proportion, and with neatness of execution. The strong propensity of this people to works of this sort, is remarkable in a vast variety of particulars: small whole human figures; representations of birds, fish, and land and sea animals; models of their household utensils and of their canoes, were found amongst them in great abundance.

The imitative arts being nearly allied, no wonder that, to their skill in working figures in their garments, and carving them in wood, they should add that of drawing them in colours. We have sometimes seen the whole process of their whale-fishery painted on the caps they wear. This, though rudely executed, serves at least to shew, that though there be no appearance of the knowledge of letters amongst them, they have some notion of a method of commemorating and representing actions, in a lasting way, independently of what may be recorded in their songs and traditions. They have also other figures painted on some of their things; but it is doubtful if they ought to be considered as symbols, that have certain established significations, or only the mere creation of fancy and caprice.

Their canoes are of a simple structure; but, to appearance, well calculated for every useful purpose. Even the largest, which carry twenty people or more, are formed of one tree. Many of them are forty feet long, seven broad,

and three deep. From the middle, toward each end, they become gradually narrower, the after-part, or stern, ending abruptly or perpendicularly, with a small knob on the top; but the fore-part is lengthened out, stretching forward and upward, ending in a notched point or prow, considerably higher than the sides of the canoe, which run nearly in a straight line. For the most part, they are without any ornament; but some have a little carving, and are decorated by setting seals' teeth on the surface, like studs; as is the practice on their masks and weapons. A few have, likewise, a kind of additional head or prow, like a large out-water, which is painted with the figure of some animal. They have no seats, nor any other supporters, on the inside, than several round sticks, little thicker than a cane, placed across, at mid-depth. They are very light, and their breadth and flatness enable them to swim firmly, without an out-rigger, which none of them have; a remarkable distinction between the navigation of all the American nations, and that of the southern parts of the East Indies, and the islands in the Pacific Ocean. Their paddles are small and light; the shape, in some measure, resembling that of a large leaf, pointed at the bottom, broadest in the middle, and gradually losing itself in the shaft, the whole being about five feet long. They have acquired great dexterity in managing these paddles by constant use; for sails are no part of their art of navigation.

Their implements for fishing and hunting, which are both ingeniously contrived and well made, are nets, hooks, and lines, harpoons, gigs, and an instrument like an oar. This last is about twenty feet long, four or five inches broad, and about half an inch thick. Each edge, for about two thirds of its length (the other third being its handle,) is set with sharp bone-teeth, about two inches long. Herrings and sardines, and such other small fish as come in shoals, are attacked with this instrument; which is struck into the shoal, and the fish are caught either upon or between the



teeth. Their hooks are made of bone and wood, and rather inartificially; but the harpoon, with which they strike the whale, and lesser sea animals, shews a great reach of contrivance. It is composed of a piece of bone, cut into two barbs, in which is fixed the oval blade of a large muscle shell, in which is the point of the instrument. To this is fastened about two or three fathoms of rope; and to throw this harpoon, they use a shaft of about twelve or fifteen feet long, to which the line or rope is made fast; and to one end of which the harpoon is fixed, so as to separate from the shaft, and leave it floating on the water as a buoy, when the animal darts away with the harpoon.

We can say nothing of the manner of catching or killing and animals, unless we may suppose that they shoot the smaller sort with their arrows, and engage bears, or wolves and foxes, with their spears. They have, indeed, several nets, which are probably applied to that purpose; as they frequently threw them over their heads, to shew their use, when they brought them to us for sale. They also, sometimes, decoy animals, by covering themselves with a skin, and running about on all fours, which they do very nimbly, as appeared from the specimens of their skill, which they exhibited to us, making a kind of noise or neighing at the same time; and, on these occasions, the masks, or carved heads, as well as the real dried heads, of the different animals, are put on. As to the materials of which they make their various articles, it is to be observed, that every thing of the rope kind, is formed either from thongs of skins, and sinews of animals, or from the same flaxen substance of which their mantles are manufactured. The sinews often appeared to be of such a length, that it might be presumed they could be of no other animal than the whale. And the same may be said of the bones of which they made their weapons already mentioned, such as their bark-beating instruments, the points of their spears, and barbs of their harpoons.

Their great dexterity in works of wood, may, in some measure, be ascribed to the assistance they receive from iron tools. For, as far as we know, they use no other; at least, we saw only one chissel of bone. And though, originally, their tools must have been of different materials, it is not improbable that many of their improvements have been made since they acquired a knowledge of that metal, which now is universally used in their various wooden works. The chissel and the knife, are the only forms, as far as we saw, that iron assumes amongst them. The chissel is a long flat piece, fitted into a handle of wood. A stone serves for a mallet, and a piece of fish-skin for a polisher. I have seen some of these chissels that were eight or ten inches long, and three or four inches broad; but, in general, they were smaller. The knives are of various sizes; some very large; and their blades are crooked, somewhat like our pruning knife; but the edge is on the back or convex part. Most of them that we saw were about the breadth and thickness of an iron hoop; and their singular form marks that they are not of European make. Probably, they are imitations of their own original instruments, used for the same purposes. They shapen these iron tools upon a coarse slate whetstone; and likewise keep the whole instrument constantly bright.

Iron, which they call seekemaile, (which name they also give to tin, and all white metals) being familiar to these people, it was very natural for us to speculate about the mode of its being conveyed to them. Upon our arrival in the Sound, they immediately discovered a knowledge of traffic, and an inclination for it; and we were convinced afterward, that they had not received this knowledge from a cursory interview with any strangers; but, from their method, it seemed to be an established practice, of which they were fond, and in which they were also well skilled. With whom they carry on this traffic, may perhaps admit of some doubt; for though we found amongst them things doubtless of European manufacture, or at least derived from

some civilized nation, such as iron and brass, it by no means appears that they receive them immediately from these nations. For we never observed the least sign of their having seen ships like ours before, nor of their having traded with such people. Many circumstances serve to prove this almost beyond a doubt: they were earnest in their inquiries, by signs, on our arrival, if we meant to settle amongst them; and if we came as friends; signifying, at the same time, that they gave the wood and water freely, from friendship. This not only proves, that they considered the place as entirely their property, without fearing any superiority; but the inquiry would have been an unnatural one, on a supposition that any ships had been here before; had trafficked, and supplied themselves with wood and water, and had then departed; for, in that case, they might reasonably expect we would do the same. They, indeed, expressed no marks of surprize at seeing our ships; but this, as I observed before, may be imputed to their natural indolence of temper, and want of curiosity. Nor were they even startled at the report of a musquet; till, one day, upon their endeavouring to make us sensible that their arrows and spears could not penetrate the hide-dresses, one of our gentlemen shot a musquet ball through one of them, folded six times. At this they were so much staggered, that they plainly discovered their ignorance of the effect of fire-arms. This was very often confirmed afterwards when we used them at their village, and other places, to shoot birds, the manner of which plainly confounded them; and our explanations of the use of shot and ball, were received with the most significant marks of their having no previous ideas on this matter.

Some account of a Spanish voyage to this coast, in 1774, or 1775, had reached England before I sailed; but the foregoing circumstances sufficiently prove, that these ships had not been at Nootka.\* Besides this, it was evident that

\* We now know that Capt. Cook's conjecture was well founded, It appears, from the journal of this voyage, here referred to, that the Spaniards had intercourse with the natives of this coast, only

iron was too common here; was in too many hands; and the uses of it were too well known, for them to have had the first knowledge of it so very lately; or, indeed, at any earlier period, by an accidental supply from a ship. Doubtless, from the general use they make of this metal, it may be supposed to come from some constant source, by way of traffic, and that not of a very late date; for they are as dexterous in using their tools as the longest practice can make them. The most probable way, therefore, by which we can suppose that they get their iron, is by trading for it with other Indian tribes, who either have immediate communication with European settlements upon that continent, or receive it, perhaps, through several intermediate nations. The same might be said of the brass and copper found amongst them.

Whether these things be introduced by way of Hudson's Bay and Canada, from the Indians, who deal with our traders, and so successively across from one tribe to the other; or whether they be brought from the north-western parts of Mexico, in the same manner, perhaps cannot be easily determined; but it should seem, that not only the rude materials, but some articles in their manufactured state, find their way hither. The brass ornaments for noses, in particular, are so neatly made, that I am doubtful whether the Indians are capable of fabricating them. The materials certainly are European; as no American tribes have been found, who knew the method of making brass; though copper has been commonly met with, and, from its softness, might be fashioned into any shape, and also polished. If our traders to Hudson's Bay and Canada do not use such articles in their traffic with the natives, they must have been introduced at Nootka from the quarter of Mexico, from whence, no doubt, the two silver table-spoons, met in three places; in latitude  $41^{\circ} 7'$ ; in latitude  $47^{\circ} 21'$ ; and in latitude  $57^{\circ} 18'$ . So that they were not within two degrees of Nootka; and it is most probable, that the people there never heard of these Spanish ships.

with here, were originally derived. It is most probable, however, that the Spaniards are not such eager traders, nor have formed such extensive connections with the tribes north of Mexico, as to supply them with quantities of iron, from which they can spare so much to the people here.\*

Of the political and religious institutions established amongst them, it cannot be supposed that we should learn much. This we could observe, that there are such men as chiefs, who are distinguished by the name or title of Acweek, and to whom the others are, in some measure, subordinate. But, I should guess, the authority of each of these great men extends no farther than the family to which he belongs, and who own him as their head. These Acweeks were not always elderly men; from which I concluded that this title came to them by inheritance. I saw nothing that could give the least insight into their notions of religion, besides the figures before mentioned, called by them Klumma. Most probably these were idols; but as they frequently mentioned the word acweek, when they spoke of them, we may, perhaps, be authorized to suppose that they are the images of some of their ancestors, whom they venerate as divinities. But all this is mere conjecture; for we saw no act of religious homage paid to them; nor could we gain any information, as we had learned little more of their language, than to ask the names of things, without being able to hold any conversation with the natives, that might instruct us as to their institutions or traditions.

In drawing up the preceding account of the people of

\* Though the two silver table-spoons, found at Nootka Sound, most probably came from the Spaniards in the south, there seems to be sufficient grounds for believing that the regular supply of iron comes from a different quarter. It is remarkable, that the Spaniards, in 1775, found at Puerto de la Trinidad, in latitude  $41^{\circ} 7'$ , arrows pointed with copper or iron, which they understood were procured from the north. Mr. Daines Barrington, in a note at this part of the Spanish journal, p. 20, says, "I should conceive that the copper and iron, here mentioned, must have originally been bartered at our forts in Hudson's Bay."

this Sound, I have occasionally blended Mr. Anderson's observations with my own ; but I owe every thing to him that relates to their language ; and the following remarks are in his own words : " Their language is by no means harsh or disagreeable, farther than proceeds from their using the *k* and *h* with more force, or pronouncing them with less softness than we do ; and, upon the whole, it abounds rather with what we may call labial and dental, than with guttural sounds. The simple sounds which we have not heard them use, and which consequently may be reckoned rare, or wanting in their language, are those represented by the letters *b, d, f, g, r,* and *v*. But, on the other hand, they have one which is very frequent, and not used by us : it is formed in a particular manner, by elashing the tongue partly against the roof of the mouth with considerable force, and may be compared to a very coarse or harsh method of lisping. It is difficult to represent this sound by any composition of our letters, unless, somehow, from *lezthl*. This is one of their most usual terminations, though we sometimes found it in the beginning of words. The next most general termination is composed of *tl*, and many words end with *x* and *ss*. A specimen or two of each of these is here introduced.

|            |          |              |                  |
|------------|----------|--------------|------------------|
| Opulszthl, | the sun  | Teeshcheetl, | to throw a stone |
| Onulszthl, | the moon | Koomitz,     | a human skull    |
| Kahsheetl, | dead     | Quahniss,    | fish roe         |

They seem to take so great a latitude in their mode of speaking, that I have sometimes observed four or five different terminations of the same word. This is a circumstance very puzzling at first to a stranger, and marks a great imperfection in their language. As to the composition of it, we can say very little, having been scarcely able to distinguish the several parts of speech. It can only be inferred, from their method of speaking, which is very slow and distinct, that it has few prepositions or conjunctions ; and, as far as we could discover, is destitute of even a sin-



gle interjection, to express admiration or surprise. From its having few conjunctions, it may be conceived, that these being thought unnecessary, as being understood, each single word, with them, will also express a great deal, or comprehend several simple ideas; which seems to be the case. But, for the same reason, the language will be defective in other respects; not having words to distinguish or express differences which really exist, and hence not sufficiently copious. This was observed to be the case, in many instances, particularly with respect to the names of animals. The relation or affinity it may bear to other languages, either on this, or on the Asiatic continent, I have not been able sufficiently to trace, for want of proper specimens to compare it with, except those of the Esquimaux, and Indians about Hudson's Bay; to neither of which it bears the least resemblance. On the other hand, from the few Mexican words I have been able to procure, there is the most obvious agreement, in the very frequent terminations of the words in *l*, *tl*, or *z*, throughout the language. I select their numerals, for the satisfaction of such of my readers as love to compare those of different nations, in different parts of the world.

|                 |                    |
|-----------------|--------------------|
| Tsawack, one    | Nofpo, six         |
| Akkla, two      | Atslepoo, seven    |
| Katsitsa, three | Atlaquolthl, eight |
| Mo or Moo, four | Tsawaquulthl, nine |
| Sochah, five    | Haecoo, ten.       |

Were I to affix a name to the people of Nootka, as a distinct nation, I would call them Wakashians; from the word wakash, which was very frequently in their mouths. It seemed to express applause, approbation and friendship. For when they appeared to be satisfied, or well pleased with any thing they saw, or any incident that happened, they would, with one voice, call out wakash! wakash! I shall take my leave of them, with remarking, that, differing so essentially as they certainly do, in their persons,

their customs, and language, from the inhabitants of the islands in the Pacific Ocean, we cannot suppose their respective progenitors to have been united in the same tribe, or to have had any intimate connection, when they emigrated from their original settlements, into the places where we now find their descendants.

By various astronomical and nautical observations made by us, while the ships were in that station, the latitude is  $40^{\circ} 36' 6''$  north ; the longitude  $233^{\circ} 17' 30''$  east.

It is high-water on the days of the new and full moon, at  $12^h 20^m$ . The perpendicular rise and fall, eight feet nine inches ; which is to be understood of the day-tides, and those which happen two or three days after the full and new moon. The night-tides, at this time, rise near two feet higher. This was very conspicuous during the spring-tide of the full moon, which happened soon after our arrival ; and it was obvious, that it would be the same in those of the new moon, though we did not remain here long enough to see the whole of its effect. Some circumstances, that occurred daily, relating to this, deserve particular notice. In the cove where we got wood and water, was a great deal of drift wood thrown ashore ; a part of which we had to remove, to come at the water. It often happened, that large pieces or trees which we had removed in the day, out of the reach of the then high water, were found, the next morning, floated again in our way ; and all our spouts, for conveying down the water, thrown out of their places, which were immovable during the day-tides. We also found, that wood, which we had split up for fuel, deposited beyond the reach of the day-tide, floated away during the night. Some of these circumstances happened every night and morning, for three or four days in the height of the spring-tides ; during which time we were obliged to attend every morning-tide, to remove the large logs out of the way of watering.

Having put to sea on the evening of the 26th, as before related, with strong signs of an approaching storm ; these

signs did not deceive us. We were hardly out of the Sound, before the wind, in an instant, shifted from north-east to south-east by east, and increased to a strong gale, with squalls and rain, with so dark a sky, that we could not see the length of the ship. Being apprehensive, from the experience I had since our arrival on this coast, of the wind veering more to the south, which would put us in danger of a lee-shore, we got the tacks on board, and stretched off to the south-west, under all the sail the ships could bear. Fortunately, the wind veered no farther southerly, than south-east; so that at day-light the next morning, we were quite clear of the coast.

The Discovery being at some distance astern, I brought to, till she came up, and then bore away, steering north-west; in which direction I supposed the coast to lie. The wind was at south-east, blew very hard, and in squalls, with thick hazy weather. At half-past one in the afternoon, it blew a perfect hurricane; so that I judged it highly dangerous to run any longer before it, and, therefore, brought the ships to, with their heads to the southward, under the foresails and mizen-stay-sails. At this time, the Resolution sprung a leak, which, at first, alarmed us not a little. It was found to be under the starboard buttock; where, from the bread-room, we could both hear and see the water rush in; and, as we then thought, two feet under water. But in this we were happily mistaken; for it was afterward found to be even with the water-line, if not above it, when the ship was upright. It was no sooner discovered, than the fish room was found to be full of water, and the casks in it afloat; but this was, in a great measure, owing to the water not finding its way to the pumps through the coals that lay in the bottom of the room. For after the water was paled out, which employed us till midnight, and had found its way directly from the leaks to the pumps, it appeared that one pump kept it under, which gave us no small satisfaction. In the evening, the wind veered to the south, and

its fury, in some degree, ceased. On this, we set the main-sail, and two top-sails close-reefed, and stretched to the westward. But at eleven o'clock, the gale again increased, and obliged us to take in the top-sails, till five o'clock the next morning, when the storm began to abate; so that we could bear to set them again.

The weather now began to clear up; and, being able to see several leagues round us, I steered more to the northward. At noon, the latitude, by observation, was  $50^{\circ} 1'$ ; longitude  $229^{\circ} 26'$ ; and as the latitude and longitude are now frequently set down; the former being invariably north, and the latter east, the constant repetition of the two words, north and east, is omitted, to avoid unnecessary precision. I now steered north-west by north, with a fresh gale at south-south-east, and fair weather; but at nine in the evening, it began again to blow hard, and in squalls with rain. With such weather, and the wind between south-south-east and south-west, I continued the same course till the 30th, at four in the morning, when I steered north by west, in order to make the land. I regretted very much indeed that I could not do it sooner, for this obvious reason, that we were now passing the place where geographers have placed the pretended strait of Admiral de Fonte. For my own part, I give no credit to such vague and improbable stories, that carry their own confutation along with them. Nevertheless, I was very desirous of keeping the American coast aboard, in order to clear up this point beyond dispute. But it would have been highly imprudent in me, to have engaged with the land in weather so exceedingly tempestuous, or to have lost the advantage of a fair wind, by waiting for better weather. This same day at noon we were in the latitude of  $53^{\circ} 22'$ , and in the longitude of  $225^{\circ} 14'$ .

At seven in the evening, on the 1st of May, we got sight of the land, which abounds with hills, but one considerably out-tops the rest; this I called Mount Edgcombe. It was

wholly covered with snow; as were also all the other elevated hills; but the lower ones, and the flatter spots, bordering upon the sea, were free from it, and covered with wood. On the 3rd, we saw a large inlet, distant six leagues; and the most advanced point of the land, lying under a very high peaked mountain, which obtained the name of Mount Fair Weather. The inlet was named Cross Sound, being first seen on the day so marked in our calendar. From the 4th to the 10th, nothing very interesting occurred. On the 10th, we found ourselves no more than three leagues from the coast of the continent, which extended as far as the eye could reach. To the westward of this last direction was an island, that extended from north to south, distant six leagues. A point shoots out from the main toward the north-east end of the island, about five or six leagues distant. This point I named Cape Suckling.

On the 11th, I bore up for the island. At ten o'clock in the morning I went in a boat, and landed upon it, with a view of seeing what lay on the other side; but finding it farther to the hills than I expected, and the way being steep and woody, I was obliged to drop the design. At the foot of a tree, on a little eminence not far from the shore, I left a bottle with a paper in it, on which were inscribed the names of the ships, and the date of our discovery. And along with it I inclosed two silver twopenny pieces of his majesty's coin, of the date of 1772. These, with many others, were furnished me by the Rev. Dr. Kaye, (now Dean of Lincoln) and, as a mark of my esteem and regard for that gentleman, I named the island after him, Kaye's Island. It is eleven or twelve leagues in length, but its breadth is not above a league, or a league and a half in any part of it. On this island there are a considerable number of pines, and the whole seems covered with a broad girdle of wood. In the passage from the ship to the shore, we saw a great many fowls sitting upon the water, or flying about in flocks or pairs; the chief of which were

a few quebrantahuesses, divers, ducks or large peterels; gulls, shags, and burres. At the place where we landed, a fox came from the verge of the wood, and eyed us with very little emotion, walking leisurely without any signs of fear. He was of a reddish yellow colour, like some of the skins we bought at Nootka, but not of a large size.

We were now threatened with a fog and a storm, and I wanted to get into some place to stop the leak, before we encountered another gale. These reasons induced me to steer for an inlet, which we had no sooner reached, than the weather became so foggy, that we could not see a mile before us, and it became necessary to secure the ships in some place, and wait for a clearer sky. With this view, I hauled close under a cape, which I now called Cape Hinchinbroke, and anchored before a small cove, a little within the cape, and about a quarter of a mile from the shore. At some short intervals the fog cleared away, and gave us a sight of the land around us. The westernmost point we had in sight on the north shore, bore north-north-west half west, two leagues distant. Between this point and the shore, under which we were at anchor, is a bay about three leagues deep; on the south-east side of which there are two or three coves, such as that in which we had anchored before; and in the middle some rocky islands.

To these islands Mr. Gore was sent in a boat, in hopes of shooting some eatable birds. But he had hardly got to them, before about twenty natives made their appearance in two large canoes; on which he thought proper to return to the ships, and they followed him. They would not venture along-side, but kept at some distance, hallooing aloud, and alternately clasping and extending their arms; and, in a short time, began a kind of song exactly after the manner of those at Nootka. Their heads were also powdered with feathers. One man held out a white garment, which we interpreted as a sign of friendship; and another stood up in the canoe, quite naked, for almost a quarter of an hour,



with his arms stretched out like a cross, and motionless. The canoes were not constructed of wood, as at King George's or Nootka Sound. The frame only, being slender laths, was of that substance ; the outside consisting of the skins of seals, or of such like animals. Though we returned all their signs of friendship, and, by every expressive gesture, tried to encourage them to come alongside, we could not prevail. Some of our people repeated several of the common words of the Nootka language. such as seekemaile, and mahook ; but they did not seem to understand them. After receiving some presents, which were thrown to them, they retired to that part of the shore from whence they came ; giving us to understand by signs, that they would visit us again the next morning. Two of them, however, each in a small canoe, waited upon us in the night ; probably with a design to pilfer something, thinking we should be all asleep ; for they retired as soon as they found themselves discovered.

During the night, the wind was at south-south-east, blowing hard and in squalls, with rain, and very thick weather. At ten o'clock next morning, the wind became more moderate, and the weather being somewhat clearer, we got under sail, in order to look out for some snug place, where we might search for, and stop the leak ; our present station being too much exposed for this purpose. At first I proposed to have gone up the bay, before which we had anchored ; but the clearness of the weather tempted me to steer to the northward, farther up the great inlet, as being all in our way. As soon as we had passed the north-west point of the bay above mentioned, we found the coast on that side to turn short to the eastward. I did not follow it, but continued our course to the north, for a point of land which we saw in that direction.

The natives who visited us the preceding evening, came off again in the morning, in five or six canoes ; but not till we were under sail ; and although they followed us for some

time, they could not get up with us. Before two in the afternoon, the bad weather returned again, with so thick a haze, that we could see no other land besides the point just mentioned, which we reached at half past four, and found it to be a small island, lying about two miles from the adjacent coast, being a point of land, on the east side of which we discovered a fine bay, or rather harbour. To this we plied up, under reefed topsails and courses. The wind blew strong at south-east, and in excessively hard squalls with rain. At intervals, we could see land in every direction; but in general the weather was so foggy, that we could see none but the shores of the bay into which we were plying. In passing the island, the depth of water was twenty-six fathoms, with a muddy bottom. Soon after, the depth increased to sixty and seventy fathoms, a rocky bottom; but in the entrance of the bay, the depth was from thirty to six fathoms, the last very near the shore. At length, at eight o'clock, the violence of the squalls obliged us to anchor in thirteen fathoms, before we had got so far into the bay as I intended; but we thought ourselves fortunate that we had already sufficiently secured ourselves at this hour; for the night was exceedingly stormy.

The weather, bad as it was, did not hinder three of the natives from paying us a visit. They came off in two canoes; two men in one, and one in the other; being the number each could carry. For they were built and constructed in the same manner with those of the Esquimaux; only, in the one were two holes for two men to sit in; and in the other but one. Each of these men had a stick, about three feet long, with the large feathers or wing of birds tied to it. These they frequently held up to us; with a view, as we guessed, to express their pacific disposition.

The treatment these men met with, induced many more to visit us, between one and two the next morning, in both great and small canoes. Some ventured on board the ship; but not till some of our people had stepped into their boats.

Amongst these who came on board, was a good-looking middle-aged man, whom we afterwards found to be the chief. He was clothed in a dress made of the sea-otter's skin; and had on his head such a cap as is worn by the people of King George's Sound, ornamented with sky-blue glass beads, about the size of a large pea. He seemed to set a much higher value upon these, than upon our white glass beads. Any sort of beads, however, appeared to be in very high estimation with these people; and they most readily gave whatever they had in exchange for them; even their fine sea-otter skins. But here I must observe, that they set no more value upon these than upon other skins, which was also the case at King George's Sound, till our people set a higher price upon them; and even after that, the natives of both places would sooner part with a dress made of these, than with one made of the skins of wild-cats or of martins.

These people were also desirous of iron; but they wanted pieces eight or ten inches long at least, and of the breadth of three or four fingers. For they absolutely rejected small pieces. Consequently, they got but little from us; iron, by this time, having become rather a scarce article. The points of some of their spears or lances were of that metal, others were of copper, and a few of bone; of which the points of their darts, arrows, &c. were composed. I could not prevail upon the chief to trust himself below the upper deck; nor did he and his companions remain long on board. But while we had their company, it was necessary to watch them narrowly, as they soon betrayed a thievish disposition. At length, after being about three or four hours along-side the Resolution, they all left her, and went to the Discovery; none having been there before, except one man, who, at this time, came from her, and immediately returned thither in company with the rest. When I observed this, I thought this man had met with something there, which he knew would please his countrymen better than what they

met with in our ship. But in this I was mistaken, as will soon appear.

As soon as they were gone, I sent a boat to sound the head of the bay. For as the wind was moderate, I had thoughts of laying the ship ashore, if a convenient place could be found where I might begin our operations to stop the leak. It was not long before all the Americans left the *Discovery*, and instead of returning to us, made their way toward our boat employed as above. The officer in her seeing this, returned to the ship and was followed by all the canoes. The boat's crew had no sooner come on board leaving in her two of their number by way of a guard, than some of the Americans stepped into her. Some presented their spears before the two men; others cast loose the rope which fastened her to the ship; and the rest attempted to tow her away. But the instant they saw us preparing to oppose them, they let her go, stepped out of her into their canoes. and made signs to us to lay down our arms, having the appearance of being as perfectly unconcerned as if they had done nothing amiss. This, though rather a more daring attempt, was hardly equal to what they had meditated on board the *Discovery*. The man who came and carried all his countrymen from the *Resolution* to the other ship, had first been on board of her; where, after looking down all the hatchways, and seeing nobody but the officer of the watch, and one or two more, he no doubt thought they might plunder her with ease; especially as she lay at some distance from us. It was unquestionably with this view, that they all repaired to her. Several of them, without any ceremony, went on board, drew their knives, made signs to the officer and people on deck to keep off, and began to look about them for plunder. The first thing they met with was the rudder of one of the boats, which they threw over-board to those of the party who had remained in their canoes. Before they had time to find another object that pleased their fancy, the crew were alarmed, and began to come upon

deck armed with cutlasses. On seeing this, the whole company of plunderers sneaked off into their canoes, with as much deliberation and indifference as they had given up the boat ; and they were observed describing to those who had not been on board, how much longer the knives of the ship's crew were than their own. It was at this time, that my boat was on the sounding duty ; which they must have seen ; for they proceeded directly to her, after their disappointment at the Discovery. I have not the least doubt, that their visiting us so very early in the morning was with a view to plunder ; on a supposition, that they should find every body asleep.

May we not, from these circumstances, reasonably infer, that these people are unacquainted with fire-arms ? For certainly, if they had known any thing of their effect, they never would have dared to attempt taking a boat from under a ship's guns, in the face of above a hundred men ; for most of my people were looking at them, at the very instant they made the attempt. However, after all these tricks, we had the good fortune to leave them as ignorant, in this respect, as we found them. For they neither heard nor saw a musquet fired, except at birds.

Just as we were going to weigh the anchor, to proceed farther up the bay, it began to blow and to rain as hard as before ; so that we were obliged to veer away the cable again, and lay fast. Toward the evening, finding that the gale did not moderate, and that it might be some time before an opportunity offered to get higher up, I came to a resolution to heel the ship where we were ; and, with this view, moored her with a kedge-anchor and hawser. In heaving the anchor out of the boat, one of the seamen, either through ignorance or carelessness, or both, was carried over-board by the buoy-rope, and followed the anchor to the bottom. It is remarkable, that, in this very critical situation, he had presence of mind to disengage himself, and come up

to the surface of the water, where he was taken up, with one of his legs fractured in a dangerous manner.

Early the next morning, we gave the ship a good heel to port, in order to come at, and stop the leak. On ripping off the sheathing, it was found to be in the seams, which were very open, both in and under the wale; and, in several places, not a bit of oakum in them. While the carpenters were making good these defects, we filled all our empty water casks, at a stream hard by the ship. The wind was now moderate, but the weather was thick and hazy, with rain. The natives, who left us the preceding day, when the bad weather came on, paid us another visit this morning. Those who came first, were in small canoes; others, afterward, arrived in large boats; in one of which were twenty women, and one man, besides children.

The leak being stopped, and the sheathing made good over it, at four o'clock in the morning, of the 17th, we weighed, and steered to the north-westward, with a light breeze at east-north-east; thinking if there should be any passage to the north through this inlet, that it must be in that direction. Soon after we were under sail, the natives, in both great and small canoes, paid us another visit, which gave us an additional opportunity of forming a more perfect idea of their persons, dress, and other particulars, which shall be afterward described. Our visitors seemed to have no other business, but to gratify their curiosity; for they entered into no sort of traffic with us. After we had got over to the north-west point of the arm in which we had anchored, we found that the flood-tide came into the inlet through the same channel by which we had entered. Although this circumstance did not make wholly against a passage, it was, however, nothing in its favour. After passing the point above mentioned, we met with a good deal of foul ground, and many sunken rocks, even out in the middle of the channel, which is here five or six leagues wide. At this time the wind failed us, and was succeeded by calms and light airs



from every direction ; so that we had some trouble to extricate ourselves from the threatening danger. At length, about one o'clock, with the assistance of our boats, we got to an anchor, under the eastern shore, in thirteen fathoms water, and about four leagues to the north of our last station. In the morning, the weather had been very hazy ; but it afterward cleared up, so as to give us a distinct view of all the land round us, particularly to the northward, where it seemed to close. This left us but little hopes of finding a passage that way ; or, indeed, in any other direction, without putting out again to sea.

To enable me to form a better judgment, I dispatched Mr. Gore, with two armed boats, to examine the northern arm ; and the master, with two other boats, to examine another arm that seemed to take an easterly direction. Late in the evening they both returned. The master reported, that the arm he had been sent to, communicated with that from which we had last come ; and that one side of it was only formed by a group of islands. Mr. Gore informed me, that he had seen the entrance of an arm which, he was of opinion, extended a long way to the north-east ; and that, probably by it, a passage might be found. On the other hand, Mr. Roberts, one of the mates, whom I had sent with Mr. Gore to sketch out some parts they had examined, was of opinion, that they saw the head of this arm. The disagreement of these two opinions, and the circumstance already mentioned of the flood-tide entering the Sound from the south, rendered the existence of a passage this way very doubtful. And, as the wind in the morning had become favourable for getting out to sea, I resolved to spend no more time in searching for a passage in a place that promised so little success. Besides this, I considered, that, if the land on the west should prove to be islands, agreeably to late Russian Discoveries, we could not fail of getting far enough to the north, and that in good time ; provided we did not lose the season in searching places,

where a passage was not only doubtful, but improbable. We were now upward of five hundred and twenty leagues to the westward of any part of Baffin's, or of Hudson's Bay. And whatever passage there may be, it must be, or, at least, part of it, must lie to the north of latitude  $72^{\circ}$ . Who could expect to find a passage or strait of such extent?

Having thus taken my resolution, next morning at three o'clock, we weighed, and with a gentle breeze at north, proceeded southward down the inlet; and met with the same broken ground, as the preceding day. However, we soon extricated ourselves from it, and afterward never struck ground with a line of forty fathoms. Another passage into this inlet was now discovered, to the south-west of that which we came in, which enabled us to shorten our way out to sea. It is separated from the other by an island, extending eighteen leagues in the direction of north-east and south west, to which I gave the name of Montagu Island. In this south-west channel are several islands. Those that lie in the entrance, next the open sea, are high and rocky. But those within are low ones; and being entirely free from snow, and covered with wood and verdure, on this account they were called Green Islands.

At two in the afternoon, the wind veered to the south-west, and south-west by south, which reduced us to the necessity of plying. At day-break, the next morning, the wind came more favourable, and we steered for the channel between Montagu Island and the Green Islands, which is between two and three leagues broad, and from thirty-four to seventeen fathoms deep. We had but little wind all the day; and, at eight o'clock in the evening, it was a dead calm; when we anchored in twenty-one fathoms water, over a muddy bottom; about two miles from the shore of Montagu's Island. The calm continued till ten o'clock the next morning, when it was succeeded by a small breeze from the north, with which we weighed; and, by six o'clock in the evening, we were again in the open sea, and found the coast trending

west by south, as far as the eye could reach. To the inlet which we had now left, I gave the name of Prince William's Sound. To judge of this Sound from what we saw of it, it occupies, at least, a degree and a half of latitude, and two of longitude, exclusive of the arms or branches, the extent of which is not known. The natives, who came to make us several visits while we were in the Sound, were generally not above the common height; though many of them were under it. They were square or strong chested; and the most disproportioned part of their body seemed to be their heads, which were very large; with thick, short necks; and large, broad or spreading faces; which, upon the whole, were flat. Their eyes, though not small, scarcely bore a proportion to the size of their faces; and their noses had full, round points, hooked, or turned up at the tip. Their teeth were broad, white, equal in size, and evenly set. Their hair was black, thick, straight and strong; and their beards, in general, thin, or wanting; but the hairs about the lips of those who had them, were stiff or bristly, and frequently of a brown colour. And several of the elderly men had even large and thick, but straight beards. Though, in general, they agree in the make of their persons, and largeness of their heads, there is a considerable variety in their features; but very few can be said to be of the handsome sort, though their countenances commonly indicated a considerable share of vivacity, good-nature, and frankness. And yet some of them had an air of sullenness and reserve. Some of the women had agreeable faces; and many are easily distinguishable from the men by their features, which are more delicate; but this should be understood chiefly of the youngest sort, or middle aged. The complexion of some of the women, and of the children, is white; but without any mixture of red. And some of the men, who were seen naked, had rather a brownish or swarthy cast, which could scarcely be the effect of any stain; for they do not paint their bodies.

Their common dress (for men, women, and children are clothed alike), is a kind of close frock, or rather robe; reaching generally to the ancles, though sometimes only to the knees. At the upper part is a hole just sufficient to admit the head, with sleeves that reach to the wrist. These frocks are made of the skins of different animals; the most common of which are those of the sea-otter, grey fox, racoon, and pine martin; with many of seal skins; and, in general, they are worn with the hairy side outward. Some also have these frocks made of the skins of fowls, with only the down remaining on them, which they glue on other substances. And we saw one or two woollen garments like those of Nootka. At the seams, where the different skins are sewed together, they are commonly ornamented with tassels or fringes of narrow thongs, cut out of the same skins. A few have a kind of cape, or collar; and some a hood; but the other is the most common form, and seems to be their whole dress in good weather. When it rains, they put over this another frock, ingeniously made from the intestines of whales, or some other large animal, prepared so skilfully, as almost to resemble our gold-beater's leaf. It is made to draw tight round the neck; its sleeves reach as low as the wrist, round which they are tied with a string; and its skirts, when they are in their canoes, are drawn over the rim of the hole in which they sit, so that no water can enter. At the same time it keeps the men entirely dry upward; for no water can penetrate through it, any more than through a bladder. It must be kept continually moist or wet; otherwise it is apt to crack or break. This, as well as the common frock made of the skins, bears a great resemblance to the dress of the Greenlanders, as described by Crantz.

In general, they do not cover their legs, or feet; but a few have a kind of skin stockings, which reach half way up the thigh, and scarcely any of them are without mittens for the hands, made of the skins of bears paws. Those who

wear any thing on their heads, resembled, in this respect, our friends at Nootka ; having high truncated conic caps, made of straw, and sometimes of wood, resembling a seal's head well painted.

The men commonly wear the hair cropt round the neck and forehead ; but the women allow it to grow long ; and most of them tie a small lock of it on the crown ; or a few club it behind, after our manner. Both sexes have the ears perforated with several holes, about the outer and lower part of the edge, in which they hang little bunches of beads, made of the same tubulous shelly substance used for this purpose by those of Nootka. The septum of the nose is also perforated ; through which they frequently thrust the quill-feathers of small birds, or little bending ornaments, made of the above shelly substance, strung on a stiff string or cord, three or four inches long, which give them a truly grotesque appearance. But the most uncommon and unsightly ornamental fashion, adopted by some of both sexes, is their having the under-lip slit, or cut, quite through, in the direction of the mouth, a little below the swelling part. This incision, which is made even in the sucking children, is often above two inches long ; and either by its natural retraction, when the wound is fresh, or by the repetition of some artificial management, assumes the true shape of lips, and becomes so large as to admit the tongue through. This happened to be the case, when the first person having this incision was seen by one of the seamen, who called out, that the man had two mouths ; and, indeed, it does not look unlike it. In this artificial mouth they stick a flat narrow ornament, made chiefly out of a solid shell or bone, cut into little narrow pieces, like small teeth, almost down to the base or thickest part, which has a small projecting bit at each end that supports it when put into the divided lip ; the cut part then appearing outwards. Others have the lower lip only perforated into separate holes ; and then the ornament consists of as many distinct shelly studs, whose points are

pushed through these holes, and their heads appear within the lip, as another row of teeth immediately under their own.

These are their native ornaments. But we found many beads of European manufacture among them, chiefly of a pale blue colour, which they hang in their ears ; about their caps ; or join to their lip-ornaments, which have a small hole drilled in each point to which they are fastened, and others to them, till they hang sometimes as low as the point of the chin. But, in this last case, they cannot remove them so easily ; for, as to their own lip-ornaments, they can take them out with their tongue, or suck them in, at pleasure. They also wear bracelets of the shelly beads, or others of a cylindrical shape, made of a substance like amber ; with such also as are used in their ears and noses. And so fond are they, in general, of ornament, that they stick any thing in their perforated lip ; one man appearing with two of our iron nails projecting from it like prongs ; and another endeavouring to put a large brass button into it.

The men frequently paint their faces of a bright red, and of a black colour ; and sometimes of a blue, or leaden colour ; but not in any regular figure ; and the women, in some measure, endeavoured to imitate them, by puncturing or staining the chin with black, that comes to a point in each cheek ; a practice very similar to which is in fashion amongst the females of Greenland, as we learn from Crantz. Their bodies are not painted, which may be owing to the scarcity of proper materials ; for all the colours which they brought to sell in bladders, were in very small quantities. Upon the whole, I have no where seen savages who take more pains than these people do, to ornament, or rather to disfigure their persons.

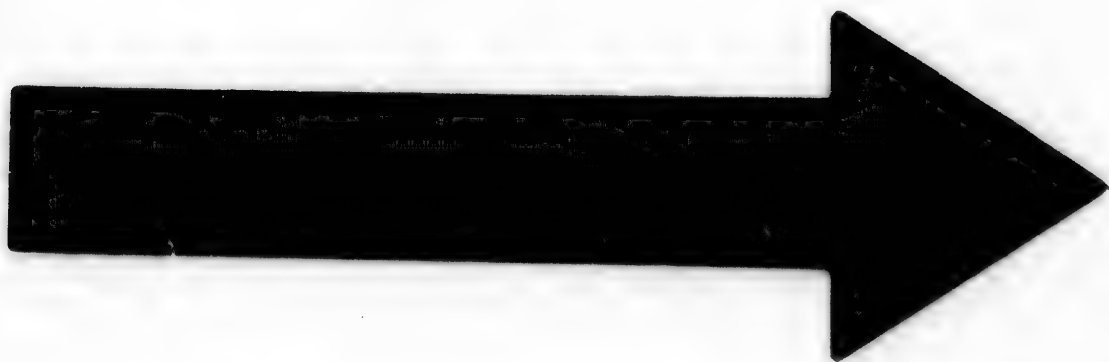
Their boats or canoes are of two sorts ; the one being large and open, and the other small and covered. I mentioned already, that in one of the large boats were twenty women, and one man, besides children. I attentively ex-

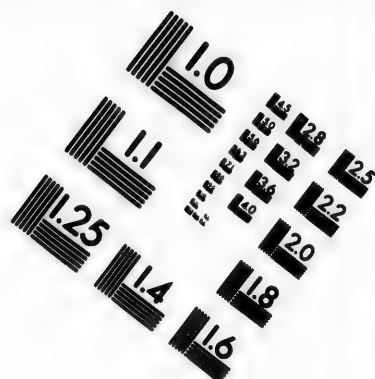
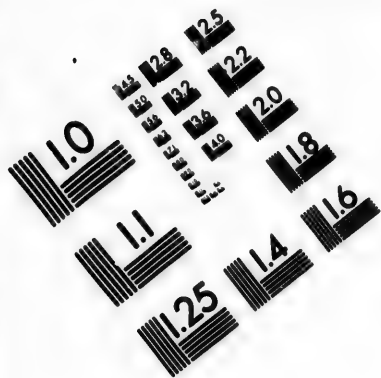


amined and compared the construction of this, with Crantz's description of what he calls the great, or women's boat in Greenland, and found that they were built in the same manner, with no other difference than in the form of the head and stern; particularly of the first, which bears some resemblance to the head of a whale. The framing is of slender pieces of wood, over which the skins of seals, or other larger sea-animals, are stretched, to compose the outside. It appeared also, that the small canoes of these people are made nearly of the same form, and of the same materials as those used by the Greenlanders and Esquimaux; at least the difference is not material. Some of these, as I have before observed, carry two men. They are broader in proportion to their length than the Esquimaux; and the head or fore-part curves somewhat like the head of a violin.

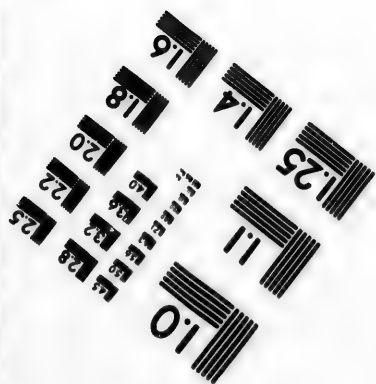
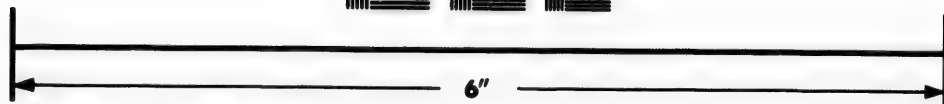
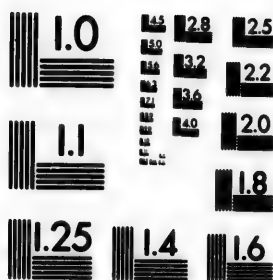
The weapons, and instruments for fishing and hunting, are the very same that are made use of by the Exquimaux and Greenlanders; and it is unnecessary to be particular in my account of them, as they are all very accurately described by Crantz. I did not see a single one with these people that he has not mentioned; nor has he mentioned one that they have not. For defensive armour they have a kind of jacket, or coat of mail, made of thin laths, bound together with sinews, which makes it quite flexible, though so close as not to admit an arrow or dart. It only covers the trunk of the body, and may not be improperly compared to a woman's stays.

As none of these people lived in the bay where we anchored, or where any of us landed, we saw none of their habitations; and I had not time to look after them. Of their domestic utensils, they brought in their boats some round and oval shallow dishes of wood; and others of a cylindrical shape much deeper. The sides were made of one piece, bent round, like our chip-boxes, though thick, neatly fastened with thongs, and the bottoms fixed in with





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small wooden pegs. Others were smaller, and of a more elegant shape, somewhat resembling a large oval butter-boat, without a handle, but more shallow, made from a piece of wood, or horny substance. These last were sometimes neatly carved. They had many little square bags, made of the same gut as their outer frocks, neatly ornamented with very minute red feathers interwoven with it, in which were contained some very fine sinews, and bundles of small cord, made from them, most ingeniously plaited. They also brought many checquered baskets, so closely wrought as to hold water; some wooden models of their canoes; a good many little images, four or five inches long, either of wood, or stuffed; which were covered with a bit of fur, and ornamented with pieces of small quill feathers, in imitation of their shelly beads, with hair fixed on their heads. Whether these might be mere toys for children, or held in veneration, as representing their deceased friends, and applied to some superstitious purpose, we could not determine. But they have many instruments made of two or three hoops, or concentric pieces of wood, with a cross-bar fixed in the middle, to hold them by. To these are fixed a great number of dried barnacle shells, with threads, which serve as a rattle, and make a loud noise, when they shake them. This contrivance seems to be a substitute for the rattling-bird at Nootka; and perhaps both of them are employed on the same occasions.

With what tools they make their wooden utensils, frames of boats, and other things, is uncertain; as the only one seen amongst them was a stone adze, made almost after the manner of those at Otaheite, and the other islands of the South Sea. They have a great many iron knives; some of which are straight; others a little curved; and some very small ones, fixed in pretty long handles, with the blades bent upward, like some of our shoe-makers instruments. But they have still knives of another sort, which are sometimes near two feet long, shaped almost like a dagger, with

a ridge in the middle. These they wear in sheaths of skins, hung by a thong round the neck, under their robe; and they are, probably, only used as weapons; the other knives being apparently applied to other purposes. Every thing they have, however, is as well and ingeniously made, as if they were furnished with the most complete tool-chest; and their sewing, plaiting of sinews, and small work on their little bags, may be put in competition with the most delicate manufactures found in any part of the known world. In short, considering the otherwise uncivilized or rude state in which these people are, their northern situation, amidst a country perpetually covered with snow, and the wretched materials they have to work with, it appears, that their invention and dexterity, in all manual works, are at least equal to that of any other nation.

The food which we saw them eat, was dried fish, and the flesh of some animal, either broiled or roasted. Some of the latter that was bought, seemed to be bears flesh, but with a fishy taste. They also eat the larger sort of fern root, mentioned at Nootka, either baked, or dressed in some other way; and some of our people saw them eat freely of a substance which they supposed to be the inner part of the pine bark. Their drink is most probably water; for in their boats they brought snow in the wooden vessels, which they swallowed by mouthfuls. Perhaps it could be carried with less trouble in their open vessels, than water itself. Their method of eating seems decent and cleanly; for they always took care to separate any dirt that might adhere to their victuals; and though they sometimes did eat the raw fat of some sea animal, they cut it carefully into mouthfuls, with their small knives. The same might be said of their persons, which, to appearance, were always clean and decent, without grease or dirt; and the wooden vessels, in which their victuals are probably put, were kept in excellent order; as well as their boats, which were neat, and free from lumber.



Their language seems difficult to be understood at first ; not from any indistinctness or confusion in their words and sounds, but from the various significations they have ; for they appeared to use the very same word, frequently, on very different occasions ; though doubtless this might, if our intercourse had been of longer duration, have been found to be a mistake on our side.

As to the animals of this part of the continent, the same may be said as at Nootka, that is, that the knowledge we have of them is entirely taken from the skins which the natives brought to sell. These were chiefly of seals ; a few foxes ; the whitish cat, or lynx ; common and pine martins ; small ermines ; bears ; racoons ; and sea-otters. Of these, the most common were the martin, racoon, and sea-otter skins, which composed the ordinary dress of the natives ; but the skins of the first, which in general were of a much lighter brown than those at Nootka, were far superior to them in fineness ; whereas the last, which, as well as the martins, were far more plentiful than at Nootka, seemed greatly inferior in the fineness and thickness of their fur, though they greatly exceeded them in size ; and were almost all of the glossy black sort, which is doubtless the colour most esteemed in those skins. Bear and seal skins were also pretty common ; and the last were in general white, very beautifully spotted with black ; or sometimes simply white ; and many of the bears here were of a brown, or sooty colour.

Besides these animals, which were all seen at Nootka, there are some others in this place which we did not find there ; such as, the white bear, of whose skins the natives brought several pieces, and some entire skins of cubs ; from which their size could not be determined. We also found the wolverene, or quickhatch, which had very bright colours ; a larger sort of ermine than the common one, which is the same as at Nootka, varied with a brown colour, and with scarcely any black on its tail. The natives also brought the

skin of the head of some very large animal ; but it could not be positively determined what it was ; though, from the colour and shagginess of the hair, and its unlikeness to any land animal, we judged it might probably be that of the large male ursine seal, or sea bear. But one of the most beautiful skins, and which seems peculiar to this place, as we never saw it before, is that of a small animal about ten inches long, of a brown or rusty colour on the back, with a great number of obscure whitish specks ; and the sides of a blueish ash colour, also with a few of these specks. The tail is not above a third the length of its body, and is covered with hair of a whitish colour at the edges.

Of the birds mentioned at Nootka, we found here only the white-headed eagle ; the shag ; the alcyon, or great kingfisher, which had very fine bright colours ; and the humming-bird, which came frequently and flew about the ship, while at anchor ; though it can scarcely live here in the winter, which must be very severe. The water fowls were geese ; a small sort of duck ; another sort which none of us knew ; and some of the black seapies, with red bills, which we found at Van Dieman's Land, and New Zealand. Some of the people who went on shore, killed a grouse, a snipe, and some plover. But though, upon the whole, the water fowls were pretty numerous, especially the ducks and geese, which frequent the shores, they were so shy, that it was scarcely possible to get within shot ; so that we obtained a very small supply of them as refreshment. The duck mentioned above is as large as the common wild duck, of a deep black colour, with a short pointed tail, and red feet. The bill is white, tinged with red toward the point, and has a large black spot, almost square, near its base, on each side, where it is also enlarged or distended. And on the forehead is a large triangular white spot ; with one still larger on the back part of the neck. The female has much duller colours, and none of the ornaments of the bill, except the two black spots, which are obscure.

There is likewise a species of diver here, which seems peculiar to the place. It is about the size of a partridge; has a short, black, compressed bill; with the head and upper part of the neck of a brown black; and the rest of a deep brown, obscurely waved with black, except the under-part, which is entirely of a blackish cast, very minutely varied with white; the other (perhaps the female) is blacker above, and whiter below. A small land bird, of the finch kind, about the size of a yellow-hammer, was also found; but was suspected to be one of those which change their colour, with the season, and with their migrations. At this time, it was of a dusky brown colour, with a reddish tail; and the supposed male had a large yellow spot on the crown of his head, with some varied black on the upper part of the neck; but the last was on the breast of the female.

The only fish we got, were some torsk and halibut, which were chiefly brought by the natives to sell; and we caught a few sculpins about the ship; with some purplish star-fish, that had seventeen or eighteen rays. The rocks were observed to be almost destitute of shell fish; and the only animal of this tribe seen, was a red crab, covered with spines of a very large size.

The metals we saw were copper and iron; both which, particularly the latter, were in such plenty, as to constitute the points of most of the arrows and lances. The ores, with which they painted themselves, were a red, brittle, unctuous ochre, or iron-ore, not much unlike cinnabar in colour; a bright blue pigment, which we did not procure; and black lead. Each of these seems to be very scarce, as they brought very small quantities of the first and last, and seemed to keep them with great care. Few vegetables of any kind were seen, and the trees which chiefly grew here, were the Canadian and spruce pine, and some of them tolerably large.

The beads and iron found amongst these people, left no room to doubt, that they must have received them from some

civilized nation. We were certain, from circumstances already mentioned, that we were the first Europeans with whom they had ever communicated directly ; and it remains only to be decided, from what quarter they had got our manufactures, by intermediate conveyance. And there cannot be the least doubt of their having received these articles, through the intervention of the more inland tribes, from Hudson's Bay, or the settlements on the Canadian lakes ; unless it can be supposed (which however is less likely) that the Russian traders, from Kamtschatka, have already extended their traffic thus far ; or at least that the natives of their most easterly fox islands communicate along the coast, with those of Prince William's Sound.

As to the copper, these people seem to procure it themselves, or at most it passes through few hands to them ; for they used to express its being in a sufficient quantity amongst them, when they offered any to barter, by pointing to their weapons ; as if to say, that having so much of this metal of their own, they wanted no more.

It is, however, remarkable, if the inhabitants of this Sound be supplied with European articles, by way of the intermediate traffic to the east coast, that they should, in return, never have given to the more inland Indians any of their sea-otter skins ; which would certainly have been seen, some time or other, about Hudson's Bay. But, as far as I know, that is not the case ; and the only method of accounting for this, must be by taking into consideration the great distance ; which, though it might not prevent European goods coming so far, as being so uncommon, might prevent the skins, which are a common article, from passing through more than two or three different tribes, who might use them for their own cloathing ; and send others, which they esteemed less valuable, as being of their own animals, eastward, till they reach the traders from Europe.

After leaving Prince William's Sound, I steered to the

south-west, with a gentle breeze at north-north-east; which, at four o'clock, the next morning, was succeeded by a calm; and soon after, the calm was succeeded by a breeze from south-west. This freshening, and veering to north-west, we still continued to stretch to the south-west, and passed a lofty promontory. As the discovery of it was connected with the Princess Elizabeth's birth-day, I named it Cape Elizabeth. Beyond it we could see no land; so that, at first, we were in hopes that it was the western extremity of the continent; but not long after, we saw our mistake; for fresh land appeared in sight, bearing west-south-west.

The wind, by this time, had increased to a strong gale, and forced us a good distance from the coast. In the afternoon of the 22d, the gale abated; and we stood to the northward for Cape Elizabeth; which at noon, the next day, bore west, ten leagues distant. At the same time, a new land was seen, bearing south  $77^{\circ}$  west, which was supposed to connect Cape Elizabeth with the land we had seen to the westward.

The wind continued at west, and I stood to the southward till noon the next day, when we were within three leagues of the coast which we had discovered on the 22nd. It here formed a point that bore west-north-west. At the same time more land was seen extending to the southward, as far as south-south-west; the whole being twelve or fifteen leagues distant. On it was seen a ridge of mountains covered with snow, extending to the north-west, behind the first land, which we judged to be an island, from the very inconsiderable quantity of snow that lay upon it. I conclude that it must be Cape St. Hermogenes.

On the north-east side of Cape St. Hermogenes, the coast turned towards the north-west, and appeared to be wholly unconnected with the land seen by us the preceding day. We were detained off the cape, by variable light airs and calms till two o'clock the next morning, when a breeze springing up at north-east, we steered north-north-west

along the coast ; and soon found the land of Capè St. Hermodenes to be an island, about six leagues in circuit, separated from the adjacent coast by a channel one league broad. A league and a half to the north of this island, lie some rocks, above water ; on the north-east side of which we had from thirty to twenty fathoms water. At noon, the island of St. Hermodenes bore south-half-east. In this direction it ended in a low point, now five leagues distant, which was called Point Banks. The land, which was supposed to connect Cape Elizabeth with this south-west land, was in sight, bearing north-west-half-north. I steered directly for it ; and, on a nearer approach, found it to be a group of high islands and rocks, entirely unconnected with any other land. They obtained the name of barren isles from their very naked appearance. Their situation is in a line with Cape Elizabeth and Point Banks ; three leagues distant from the former, and five from the latter.

I intended going through one of the channels that divide these islands ; but meeting with a strong current setting against us, I bore up, and went to the leeward of them all. Towards the evening, the weather, which had been hazy all day, cleared up, and we got sight of a very lofty promontory, whose elevated summit, forming two exceeding high mountains, was seen above the clouds. This promontory I named Cape Douglas, in honour of my very good friend, Dr. Douglas, canon of Windsor.

At day-break, the next morning, being the 26th, having got to the northward of the barren isles, we discovered more land, extending from Cape Douglas to the north. It formed a chain of mountains of vast height ; one of which, far more conspicuous than the rest, was named Mount St. Augustin. The discovery of this land did not discourage us ; as it was supposed to be wholly unconnected with the land of Cape Elizabeth. For, in a north-north-east direction, the sight was unlimited by every thing but the horizon. We also thought that there was a passage to the north-west,



between Cape Douglas and Mount St. Augustin. In short, it was imagined, that the land on our larboard, to the north of Cape Douglas, was composed of a group of islands, disjoined by so many channels, any one of which we might make use of according as the wind should serve. With these flattering ideas, having a fresh gale at north-north-east, we stood to the north-west, till eight o'clock, when we clearly saw that what we had taken for islands were summits of mountains, every where connected by lower land, which the haziness of the horizon had prevented us from seeing at a greater distance. This land was every where covered with snow, from the tops of the hills down to the very sea-beach; and had every other appearance of being part of a great continent. I was now fully persuaded that I should find no passage by this inlet; and my persevering in the search of it here, was more to satisfy other people, than to confirm my own opinion.

On the 28th, in the morning, having but very little wind, and observing the ship to drive to the southward, in order to stop her, I dropped a kedge anchor, with an eight-inch hawser bent to it. But, in bringing the ship up, the hawser parted near the inner end; and we lost both it and the anchor. For although we brought the ship up with one of the bowers, and spent most of the day in sweeping for them, it was to no effect.

The weather being fair and tolerably clear, so that we could see any land that might lie within our horizon; in a north-north-east direction no land, nor any thing to obstruct our progress, was visible; but, on each side, with a ridge of mountains, rising one behind another, without the least separation. I judged it to be low water, by the shore, about ten o'clock; but the ebb ran down till near noon. The strength of it was four knots and a half; and it fell, upon a perpendicular, ten feet three inches, that is, while we lay at anchor; so that there is reason to believe this was not the greatest fall. On the eastern shore we now saw two

columns of smoke, a sure sign that there were inhabitants. Between one and two in the morning of the 30th, we weighed and plied up till near seven o'clock, when the tide being done, we anchored in nineteen fathoms, under the same shore as before. About noon, two canoes, with a man in each, came off to the ship, from near the place where we had seen the smoke the preceding day. They laboured very hard in paddling across the strong tide, and hesitated a little before they would come quite close; but upon signs being made to them, they approached. One of them talked a great deal to no purpose; for we did not understand a word he said. He kept pointing to the shore, which we interpreted to be an invitation to go thither. They accepted a few trifles from me, which I conveyed to them from the quarter-gallery. These men, in every respect, resembled the people we had met with in Prince William's Sound, as to their persons and dress. Their canoes were also of the same construction. One of our visitors had his face painted jet black, and seemed to have no beard; but the other, who was more elderly, had no paint, and a considerable beard, with a visage much like the common sort of the Prince William's people. There was also smoke seen upon the flat western shore this day, from whence we may infer, that these lower spots, and islands, are the only inhabited places.

When the flood made, we weighed, and then the canoes left us. I stood over to the western shore, with a fresh gale at north-north-east, and fetched under the point above mentioned. This, with the other on the opposite shore, contracted the channel to the breadth of four leagues. Through this channel ran a prodigious tide. It looked frightful to us, who could not tell whether the agitation of the water was occasioned by the stream, or by the breaking of the waves against rocks or sands. As we met with no shoal, it was concluded to be the former; but, in the end, we found ourselves mistaken. I now kept the western shore aboard, it

appearing to be the safest. Near the shore we had a depth of thirteen fathoms; and two or three miles off, forty and upwards. At eight in the evening, we anchored under a point of land which bore north-east, three leagues distant, in fifteen fathoms water. Here we lay during the ebb, which ran near five knots in the hour. We weighed with the next flood in the morning of the 31st, and plied higher up, or rather drove up with the tide; for we had but little wind.

About eight o'clock, we were visited by several of the natives, in one large, and several small canoes. The latter carried only one person each; and some had a paddle with a blade at each end, after the manner of the Esquimaux. In the large canoes were men, women, and children. Before they reached the ship, they displayed a leathern frock upon a long pole, as a sign, as we understood it, of their peaceable intentions. This frock they conveyed into the ship, in return for some trifles which I gave them. I could observe no difference between the persons, dress, ornaments, and boats of these people, and those of Prince William's Sound, except that the small canoes were rather of a less size, and carried only one man. We procured from them some of their fur dresses, made of the skins of sea-otters, martins, hares, and other animals; a few of their darts; and a small supply of salmon and halibut. In exchange for these they took old clothes, beads, and pieces of iron. We found that they were in possession of large iron knives, and of sky-blue glass beads, such as we had found amongst the natives of Prince William's Sound. These latter they seemed to value much, and consequently those which we now gave them. But they particularly asked for large pieces of iron; which metal they called by the name of goene; though, like their neighbours in Prince William's Sound, they seemed to have many significations to one word. They evidently spoke the same language; as the words keeta, naema, oonaka, and a few others of the most common we heard in that Sound, were

also frequently used by this new tribe. After spending about two hours between the one ship and the other, they all retired to the western shore.

At nine o'clock, we came to an anchor, in sixteen fathoms water, about two leagues from the west shore, and found the ebb already begun. At its greatest strength, it ran only three knots in the hour, and fell, upon a perpendicular, after we had anchored, twenty-one feet. The weather was misty, with drizzling rain, and clear, by turns. At the clear intervals, we saw an opening between the mountains on the eastern shore, bearing east from the station of the ships, with low land, which we supposed to be islands lying between us and the main land. Low land was also seen to the northward, that seemed to extend from the foot of the mountains on the one side, to those on the other; and, at low water, we perceived large shoals stretching out from this low land; some of which were at no great distance from us. From these appearances, we were in some doubt whether the inlet did not take an easterly direction, through the above opening; or whether that opening was only a branch of it, and the main channel continued its northern direction through the low land now in sight. The continuation and direction of the chain of mountains on each side of it, strongly indicated the probability of the latter supposition.

To determine this point, and to examine the shoals, I dispatched two boats, under the command of the master; and, as soon as the flood-tide made, followed with the ships: but, as it was a dead calm, and the tide strong, I anchored, after driving about ten miles in an east direction. At the lowest of the preceding ebb, the water at the surface, and for near a foot below it, was found to be perfectly fresh; retaining, however, a considerable degree of saltness at a greater depth. Besides this, we had now many other, and but too evident, proofs of being in a great river; such as low shores; very thick and muddy water; large trees, and all manner of dirt and rubbish, floating up and down with

the tide. In the afternoon, the natives, in several canoes, paid us a visit; and trafficked with our people for some time, without ever giving us reason to accuse them of any act of dishonesty.

At two o'clock next morning, being the 1st of June, the master returned, and reported that he found the inlet, or rather river, contracted to the breadth of one league, by low land on each side, through which it took a northerly direction. He proceeded three leagues through this narrow part, which he found navigable for the largest ships, being from twenty to seventeen fathoms deep. The least water, at a proper distance from the shore and shoals, was ten fathoms; and this was before he entered the narrow part. While the ebb or stream ran down, the water was perfectly fresh; but, after the flood made, it was brackish; and, toward high water, very much so, even as high up as he went. He landed upon an island, which lies between this branch and the eastern one; and upon it saw some currant bushes, with the fruit already set; and some other fruit trees and bushes unknown to him. The soil appeared to be clay, mixed with sand. About three leagues beyond the extent of his search, or to the northward of it, he observed there was another separation in the eastern chain of mountains, through which he supposed the river took a north-east direction; but it seemed rather more probable that this was only another branch, and that the main channel kept its northern direction, between the two ridges or chains of mountains before mentioned. He found that these two ridges, as they extended to the north, inclined more and more to each other, but never appeared to close; nor was any elevated land seen between them, only low land, part woody, and part clear.

All hopes of finding a passage were now given up. But as the ebb was almost spent, and we could not return against the flood, I thought I might as well take the advantage of the latter, to get a nearer view of the eastern branch; and, by that means, finally to determine whether the low land on

the east side of the river was an island, as we had supposed, or not. With this purpose in view, we weighed with the first of the flood, and having a faint breeze at north-east, stood over for the eastern shore, with boats ahead, sounding. Our depth was from twelve to five fathoms; the bottom a hard gravel, though the water was exceedingly muddy. At eight o'clock, a fresh breeze sprung up at east, blowing in an opposite direction to our course; so that I despaired of reaching the entrance of the river, to which we were plying up, before high water. But thinking that what the ships could not do, might be done by boats, I dispatched two, under the command of Lieutenant King, to examine the tides, and to make such other observations as might give us some insight into the nature of the river.

At ten o'clock, finding the ebb begun, I anchored in nine fathoms water, over a gravelly bottom. Observing the tide to be too strong for the boats to make head against it, I made a signal for them to return on board, before they had got half way to the entrance of the river they were sent to examine, which bore from us south  $80^{\circ}$  east, three leagues distant. The principal information gained by this tide's work, was the determining that all the low land, which we had supposed to be an island or islands, was one continued track, from the banks of the great river, to the foot of the mountains, to which it joined; and that it terminated at the south entrance of this eastern branch, which I shall distinguish by the name of River Turnagain. On the north side of this river, the low land again begins, and stretches out from the foot of the mountains, down to the banks of the great river; so that, before the river Turnagain, it forms a large bay, on the south side of which we were now at anchor; and where we had from twelve to five fathoms, from half-flood to high water.

After we had entered the bay, the flood set strong into the river Turnagain; and ebb came out with greater force, the water falling, while we lay at anchor, twenty feet upon a



perpendicular. These circumstances convinced me, that no passage was to be expected by this side river, any more than by the main branch. However, as the water during the ebb, though considerably fresher, had a strong degree of saltness, it is reasonable to suppose, that both these branches are navigable by ships, much farther than we examined them; and that by means of this river, and its several branches, a very extensive inland communication lies open. We had traced it as high as the latitude of  $61^{\circ} 30'$ , and the longitude of  $210^{\circ}$ ; which is seventy leagues, or more, from its entrance, without seeing the least appearance of its source.

If the discovery of this great river,\* which promises to vie with the most considerable ones already known to be capable of extensive inland navigation, should prove of use either to the present, or to any future age, the time we spent in it ought to be the less regretted. But to us, who had a much greater object in view, the delay thus occasioned was an essential loss. The season was advancing apace. We knew not how far we might have to proceed to the south; and we were now convinced, that the continent of North America extended farther to the west, than, from the modern most reputable charts, we had reason to expect. This made the existence of a passage into Baffin's or Hudson's Bays less probable; or, at least, shewed it to be of greater extent. It was a satisfaction to me, however, to reflect, that, if I had not examined this very considerable inlet, it would have been assumed, by speculative fabricators of geography, as a fact, that it communicated with the sea to the north, or with Baffin's or Hudson's Bay to the east; and been marked, perhaps, on future maps of the world, with greater precision, and more certain signs of reality, than the invisible, because imaginary, Straits of de Fuca, and de Fonte. In the afternoon, I sent Mr. King

\* Capt. Cook having here left a blank which he had not filled up with any particular name, Lord Sandwich directed, with the greatest propriety, that it should be called Cook's River.

again, with two armed boats, with orders to land, on the northern point of the low land, on the south-east side of the river; there to display the flag; to take possession of the country and river, in his Majesty's name; and to bury in the ground a bottle, containing some pieces of English coin, of the year 1772, and a paper, on which was inscribed the names of our ships, and the date of our discovery. In the mean time, the ships were got under sail, in order to proceed down the river. The wind blew fresh, easterly; but a calm ensued, not long after we were under way; and the flood-tide meeting us off the point where Mr. King landed (and which thence got the name of Point Possession), we were obliged to drop anchor in six fathoms water, with the point bearing south, two miles distant.

When Mr. King returned, he informed me, that as he approached the shore, about twenty of the natives made their appearance, with their arms extended; probably, to express their peaceable disposition, and to shew that they were without weapons. On Mr. King's and the gentlemen with him, landing, with musquets in their hands, they seemed alarmed, and made signs expressive of their request to lay them down. This was accordingly done; and then they suffered the gentlemen to walk up to them, and appeared to be cheerful and sociable. They had with them a few pieces of fresh salmon, and several dogs. Mr. Law, surgeon of the Discovery, who was one of the party, having bought one of the latter, took it down toward the boat, and shot it dead in their sight. This seemed to surprise them exceedingly; and, as if they did not think themselves safe in such company, they walked away; but it was soon after discovered, that their spears, and other weapons, were hid in the bushes close behind them. We weighed anchor as soon as it was high water; and, with a faint breeze southerly, stood over to the west shore, where the return of the flood obliged us to anchor early next morning. Soon after, several large, and some small canoes, with natives,

came off, who bartered their skins; after which they sold their garments, till many of them were quite naked. Amongst others, they brought a number of white hare or rabbit skins; and very beautiful reddish ones of foxes; but there were only two or three skins of otters. They also sold us some pieces of salmon and halibut. They preferred iron, to every thing else offered to them in exchange. The lip ornaments were not so frequent among them, as at Prince William's Sound; but they had more of those which pass through the nose, and in general, these were also much longer. They had, however, a greater quantity of a kind of white and red embroidered work on some parts of their garments, and on other things, such as their quivers, and knife cases.

At half past ten, we weighed with the first of the ebb, and having a gentle breeze at south, plied down the river; in the doing of which, by the inattention and neglect of the man at the lead, the *Resolution* struck, and stuck fast on a bank, that lies nearly in the middle of the river, and about two miles above the two projecting bluff points before mentioned. This bank was, no doubt, the occasion of that very strong rippling, or agitation of the stream, which we had observed when turning up the river. There was not less than twelve feet depth of water about the ship, at the lowest of the ebb, but other parts of the bank were dry. As soon as the ship came aground, I made a signal for the *Discovery* to anchor. She, as I afterward understood, had been near ashore on the west side of the bank. As the flood-tide came in, the ship floated off, soon after five o'clock in the afternoon, without receiving the least damage, or giving us any trouble; and, after standing over to the west shore, into deep water, we anchored to wait for the ebb, as the wind was still contrary. We weighed again with the ebb, at ten o'clock at night; and, between four and five the next morning, when the tide was finished, once more cast anchor about two miles below the bluff point, on the west shore, in

nineteen fathoms water. Many of the natives came off, when we were in this station, and attended upon us all the morning. Their company was very acceptable; for they brought with them a quantity of fine salmon, which they exchanged for such trifles as we had to give them. Most of it was split ready for drying; and several hundred weight of it was procured for the two ships.

The wind remaining southerly, we continued to tide it down the river; and on the 5th, in the morning, coming to the place where we had lost our kedge anchor, made an attempt to recover it, but without success. Before we left this place, six canoes came off from the east shore; some conducted by one, and others by two men. They remained at a little distance from the ships, viewing them, with a kind of silent surprize, at least half an hour, without exchanging a single word with us, or with one another. At length, they took courage, and came along-side; began to barter with our people; and did not leave us till they had parted with every thing they brought with them, consisting of a few skins and some salmon. And here it may not be improper to remark, that all the people we had met with in this river, seemed, by every striking instance of resemblance, to be of the same nation with those who inhabit Prince William's Sound, but differing essentially from those at Nootka, or King George's Sound, both in their persons and language. The language of these is rather more guttural; but, like the others, they speak strongly and distinct, in words which seem sentences. I have before observed, that they are in possession of iron; that is, they have the points of their spears and knives of this metal; some of the former are also made of copper. Their spears are like our spontoons; and their knives, which they keep in sheaths, are of a considerable length. These, with a few glass beads, are the only things we saw amongst them that were not of their own manufacture. I have already offered my conjectures from whence they derive their foreign articles; and shall

only add here, that, if it were probable that they found their way to them from such of their neighbours with whom the Russians may have established a trade, I will be bold to say, the Russians themselves have never been amongst them; for if that had been the case, we should hardly have found them clothed in such valuable skins as those of the sea-otter.

There is not the least doubt, that a very beneficial fur trade might be carried on with the inhabitants of this vast coast. But unless a northern passage should be found practicable, it seems rather too remote for Great Britain to receive any emolument from it. It must, however, be observed, that the most valuable, or rather the only valuable skins, I saw on this west side of America, were those of the sea-otter. All their other skins seemed to be of an inferior quality; particularly those of their foxes and martins. It must also be observed, that most of the skins, which we purchased, were made up into garments. However, some of these were in good condition; but others were old and ragged enough; and all of them very lousy. But as these poor people make no other use of skins but for cloathing themselves, it cannot be supposed that they are at the trouble of dressing more of them than are necessary for this purpose. And, perhaps, this is the chief use for which they kill the animals; for the sea and the rivers seem to supply them with their principal articles of food. It would, probably, be much otherwise, were they once habituated to a constant trade with foreigners.

On the 19th, being near the shore, the *Discovery* fired three guns, brought to, and made the signal to speak with us. A boat was immediately sent to her, and in a short time returned with Capt. Clerke. I now learned from him that some natives, in three or four canoes, who had followed the ship for some time, at length got under his stern. One of them then made many signs, taking off his cap and bowing, after the manner of Europeans. A rope being handed

down from the ship, to this he fastened a small thin wooden case or box ; and having delivered this safe, and spoken something, and made some more signs, the canoes dropped astern, and left the Discovery. No one on board her had any suspicion that the box contained any thing, till after the departure of the canoes, when it was accidentally opened, and a piece of paper was found folded up carefully upon which something was written in the Russian language as was supposed. The date 1778 was prefixed to it ; and, in the body of the written note, there was a reference to the year 1766. Not learned enough to decypher the alphabet of the writer, his numerals marked sufficiently that others had preceded us in visiting this dreary part of the globe, who were united to us by other ties besides those of our common nature ; and the hopes of soon meeting with some of the Russian traders, could not but give a sensible satisfaction to those who had, for such a length of time, been conversant only with the savages of the Pacific Ocean, and of the continent of North America.

Captain Clerke was at first of opinion, that some Russians had been shipwrecked here ; and that these unfortunate persons, seeing our ships pass, had taken this method to inform us of their situation. Impressed with humane sentiments, he was desirous of stopping till they might have time to join us. But no such idea occurred to me. I rather thought that the paper contained a note of information left by some Russian trader, who had lately been amongst these islands, to be delivered to the next visitors. Fully convinced of this, I did not stay to enquire into the matter, but made sail, and stood away to the westward. We continued to run all night, with a gentle breeze at north-east ; and at two o'clock next morning, some breakers were seen within us, at the distance of two miles.

The breakers forced us so far from the continent, that we had but a distant view of the coast. Over some adjoining islands, we could see the main land covered with snow ; but



particularly some hills, whose elevated tops were seen towering above the clouds, to a most stupendous height. The most south-westerly of these hills was discovered to have a volcano, which continually threw up vast columns of black smoke. It stands not far from the coast. It is also remarkable from its figure, which is a complete cone; and the volcano is at the very summit. In the afternoon, having three hours calm, our people caught upward of a hundred halibuts, some of which weighed a hundred pounds. This was a very seasonable refreshment to us. In the height of our fishing, a small canoe, conducted by one man, came to us from the large island. On approaching the ship, he took off his cap and bowed. It was evident that the Russians must have a communication and traffic with these people; not only from their acquired politeness, but from the note before mentioned. But we had now a fresh proof of it; for our present visitor wore a pair of green cloth breeches, and a jacket of black cloth or stuff, under the gut-shirt of his own country. He had nothing to barter except a grey fox-skin, and some fishing implements or harpoons; the heads of the shafts of which were neatly made of bone.

The weather was cloudy and hazy, with now and then sun-shine, till the afternoon of the 22nd, when the wind came round to the south-east, and, as usual, brought thick, rainy weather. Before the fog came on, no part of the main land was in sight, except the volcano, and another mountain close by it. We made but little progress for some days, having the wind variable, and but little of it.

On the morning of the 25th, we got a breeze easterly; and, what was uncommon with this wind, clear weather; so that we not only saw the volcano, but other mountains, both to the east and west of it, and all the coast of the main land under them, much plainer than at any time before. The weather, in the afternoon, became gloomy, and at length turned to a mist, so thick that we could not see a hundred yards before us. We were now alarmed at hearing the

sound of breakers on our larboard bow. On heaving the lead, we found twenty-eight fathoms water. I immediately brought the ship to, and anchored over a bottom of coarse sand. A few hours after, the fog having cleared a little, it appeared that we had escaped very imminent danger. We found ourselves three quarters of a mile from the north-east side of an island, known by the name of Oonalashka. Two elevated rocks were about half a league each from us, and about the same distance from each other. There were several breakers about them; and yet Providence had, in the dark, conducted the ships through between these rocks, which I should not have ventured in a clear day, and to such an anchoring place that I could not have chosen a better.

On a point, which bore west from the ship, three quarters of a mile distant, were several natives and their habitations. To this place we saw them tow in two whales, which we supposed they had just killed. A few of them now and then came off to the ships, and bartered a few trifling things with our people; but never remained above a quarter of an hour at a time. On the contrary, they rather seemed shy; and yet we could judge that they were no strangers to vessels something like ours. They behaved with a degree of politeness uncommon to savage tribes.

At day-break on the 28th, we weighed with a light breeze at south, which was succeeded by variable light airs from all directions. But as there ran a rapid tide in our favour, we got through before the ebb made. We came to anchor in twenty-eight fathoms water, pretty near the southern shore. While we lay here, several of the natives came off to us, and bartered a few fishing implements for tobacco. One of them, a young man, overset his canoe, while along-side of one of our boats. Our people caught hold of him; but the canoe went adrift. The youth, by this accident, was obliged to come into the ship; and he went down into my cabin upon the first invitation, without expressing the least reluctance

or uneasiness. His own clothes being wet, I gave him others, in which he dressed himself with as much ease as I could have done. From his behaviour, and that of some others, we were convinced that these people were no strangers to Europeans, and to some of their customs. But there was something in our ships that greatly excited their curiosity; for such as could not come off in their canoes, assembled on the neighbouring hills to look at them.

Soon after we anchored, a native of the island brought on board such another note as had been given to Capt. Clerke. He presented it to me; but it was written in the Russian language, which, as already observed, none of us could read. As it could be of no use to me, and might be of consequence to others, I returned it to the bearer, and dismissed him with a few presents; for which he expressed his thanks, by making several low bows as he retired. In walking, next day, along the shore, I met with a group of natives of both sexes, seated on the grass, at a repast, consisting of raw fish, which they seemed to eat with as much relish as we should a turbot, served up with the richest sauce. By the evening, we had completed our water, and made such observations as the time and weather would permit.

Thick fogs and a contrary wind detained us till the 2nd of July; which afforded an opportunity of acquiring some knowledge of the country and of its inhabitants. It is called by the natives Samganoodha. Great plenty of good water may be easily got. but nothing else.

Having now put to sea, we steered to the north, meeting with nothing to obstruct us in this course; but made very little progress for many successive days, nor met with any thing remarkable. In the morning of the 16th, we found ourselves nearer the land than we expected. Here, between two points, the coast forms a bay, in some parts of which the land was hardly visible from the masthead. I sent Lieutenant Williamson, with orders to land, and see what direction the coast took, and what the country produced;

for it had but a barren appearance. Soon after, Mr. Williamson returned and reported, that he had landed on the point, and having climbed the highest hill, found that the farthest part of the coast in sight bore nearly north. He took possession of the country in his Majesty's name, and left on the hill a bottle, in which was inscribed, on a piece of paper, the names of the ships, and the date of the discovery. The promontory, to which he gave the name of Cape Newenham, is a rocky point of tolerable height. The hills are naked; but on the lower grounds grew grass and other plants. He saw no other animal but a doe and her fawn; and a dead sea-horse or cow upon the beach.

From the 16th to the 21st, nothing material occurred. On the 21st we were obliged to anchor, to avoid running upon a shoal, which had only a depth of five feet. While we lay here, twenty-seven men of the country, each in a canoe, came off to the ships, which they approached with great caution; hallooing and opening their arms as they advanced. This we understood was to express their pacific intentions. At length some approached near enough to receive a few trifles that were thrown to them. This encouraged the rest to venture along side; and a traffic presently commenced between them and our people; who got dresses of skins, bows, arrows, darts, wooden vessels, &c; our visitors taking in exchange for these whatever was offered them. They seemed to be the same sort of people that we had of late met with all along this coast; wore the same kind of ornaments in their lips and noses; but were far more dirty, and not so well clothed. They appeared to be wholly unacquainted with people like us; they knew not the use of tobacco; nor was any foreign article seen in their possession, unless a knife may be looked upon as such. This, indeed, was only a piece of common iron fitted in a wooden handle, so as to answer the purpose of a knife. They, however, knew the value and use of this instrument so well, that it seemed to be the only article they wished

for. Most of them had their hair shaved or cut short off, leaving only a few locks behind, or on one side. For a covering for the head they wore a hood of skins, and a bonnet which appeared to be of wood. One part of their dress, which we got from them, was a kind of girdle, very neatly made of skin, with trappings depending from it, and passing between the legs, so as to conceal the adjoining parts. By the use of such a girdle, it should seem that they sometimes go naked, even in this high latitude; for they hardly wear it under their other clothing.

The canoes were made of skins, like all the others we had lately seen; only with this difference, that these were broader, and the hole in which the man sits was wider, than in any I had before met with. Our boats returning from sounding seemed to alarm them, so that they all left us sooner than probably they would otherwise have done.

Variable winds, with rain, prevailed till the 8d of August. Mr. Anderson, my surgeon, who had been lingering under a consumption for more than twelve months, expired between three and four this afternoon. He was a sensible young man, an agreeable companion, well skilled in his own profession, and had acquired considerable knowledge in other branches of science. The reader of this journal will have observed, how useful an assistant I had found him in the course of the voyage; and had it pleased God to have spared his life, the public, I make no doubt, might have received from him such communications, on various parts of the natural history of the several places we visited, as would have abundantly shown that he was not unworthy of this commendation. Soon after he had breathed his last, land was seen to the westward, twelve leagues distant. It was supposed to be an island, and to perpetuate the memory of the deceased, for whom I had a very great regard, I named it Anderson's Island. The next day I removed Mr. Law, the surgeon of the Discovery, into the Resolution,

and appointed Mr. Samuel, the surgeon's first mate of the *Resolution*, to be surgeon of the *Discovery*.

At ten in the morning of the 5th, with the wind at south-west, we ran down, and anchored, between an island and the continent, in seven fathoms water. This island, which was named Sledge Island, is about four leagues in circuit. I landed here, but saw neither shrub nor tree, either upon the island, or on the continent. That people had lately been on the island, was evident ; from the marks of their feet. We found, near where we landed, a sledge, which occasioned this name being given by me to the island. It seemed to be such an one as the Russians in Kamtschatka make use of over the ice, or snow. It was ten feet long, twenty inches broad, and had a kind of rail work on each side, and was shod with bone. The construction of it was admirable, and all the parts neatly put together. After several observations from the 6th to the 9th, I was satisfied that the whole was a continued coast ; I tacked and stood away for its north-west part, and came to an anchor near a point of land, which I named Cape Prince of Wales. It is the western extremity of all America hitherto known.

At day break, in the morning of the 10th, we resumed our course to the west ; and about ten o'clock we anchored in a large bay, two miles from the shore.

As we were standing into this bay, we perceived on the north shore a village, and some people, whom the sight of the ships seemed to have thrown into confusion, or fear. We could plainly see persons running up the country with burdens upon their backs. At these habitations I proposed to land ; and, accordingly, went with three armed boats, accompanied by some of the officers. About thirty or forty men, each armed with a spontoon, a bow, and arrows, stood drawn up on a rising ground close by the village. As we drew near, three of them came down toward the shore, and were so polite as to take off their caps, and to make us low bows. We returned the civility ; but this did not inspire



them with sufficient confidence to wait for our landing; for the moment we put the boats ashore, they retired. I followed them alone, without any thing in my hand; and by signs and gestures prevailed on them to stop, and to receive some trifling presents. In return for these they gave me two fox-skins, and a couple of sea-horse teeth. I cannot say whether they or I made the first present; for it appeared to me that they had brought down with them these things for this very purpose; and that they would have given them to me, even though I had made no return.

They seemed very fearful and cautious; expressing their desire by signs, that no more of our people should be permitted to come up. On my laying my hand on the shoulder of one of them, he started back several paces. In proportion as I advanced, they retreated backward; always in the attitude of being ready to make use of their spears; while those on the rising ground stood ready to support them with their arrows. Insensibly, myself, and two or three of my companions, got in amongst them. A few beads distributed to those about us, soon created a kind of confidence; so that they were not alarmed when a few more of our people joined us; and, by degrees, a sort of traffic between us commenced. In exchange for knives, beads, tobacco, and other articles, they gave us some of their cloathing, and a few arrows. But nothing that we had to offer could induce them to part with a spear, or a bow. These they held in constant readiness, never once quitting them, except at one time, when four or five persons laid theirs down, while they gave us a song and a dance. And even then, they placed them in such a manner, that they could lay hold of them in an instant; and, for their security, they desired us to sit down.

The arrows were pointed, either with bone or stone; but very few of them had barbs; and some had a round blunt point. What use these may be applied to I cannot say; unless it be to kill small animals, without damaging the

skin. The bows were such as we had seen on the American coast, and like those used by the Esquimaux. The spears, or spontoons, were of iron or steel, and of European or Asiatic workmanship; in which no little pains had been taken to ornament them with carving, and inlayings of brass, and of a white metal. Those who stood ready with bows and arrows in their hands, had the spear slung over their right shoulder by a leathern strap. A leathern quiver, slung over their left shoulder, contained arrows; and some of these quivers were extremely beautiful; being made of red leather, on which was very neat embroidery, and other ornaments.

Several other things, and, in particular, their cloathing, shewed that they were possessed of a degree of ingenuity, far surpassing what one could expect to find among so northern a people. All the Americans we had seen, since our arrival on that coast, were rather low of stature, with round chubby faces, and high cheek-bones. The people we now were amongst, far from resembling them, had long visages, and were stout and well made. In short, they appeared to be a quite different nation. We saw neither women, nor children of either sex; nor any aged except one man, who was bald-headed; and he was the only one who carried no arms. The others seemed to be picked men, and rather under than above the middle age. The old man had a black mark across his face, which I did not see in any others. All of them had their ears bored; and some had glass beads hanging to them. These were the only fixed ornaments we saw about them; for they wear none to the lips. This is another thing in which they differ from the Americans we had lately seen.

Their cloathing consisted of a cap, a frock, a pair of boots, and a pair of gloves, all made of leather, or of the skins of deer, dogs, seals, &c. and extremely well dressed; some with the hair or fur on; but others without it. The caps were made to fit the head very close; and besides these caps, which most of them wore, we got from them

some hoods, made of skins of dogs, that were large enough to cover both head and shoulders. Their hair seemed to be black ; but their heads were either shaved, or the hair cut close off ; and none of them wore any beard. Of the few articles which they got from us, knives and tobacco were what they valued most.

We found the village composed both of their summer and their winter habitations. The latter are exactly like a vault, the floor of which is sunk a little below the surface of the earth. One of them, which I examined, was of an oval form, about twenty feet long, and twelve or more high. The framing was of wood, and the ribs of whales, disposed in a judicious manner, and bound together with smaller materials of the same sort. Over this framing is laid a covering of strong coarse grass ; and that again is covered with earth ; so that on the outside, the house looks like a little hillock, supported by a wall of stone, three or four feet high, which is built round the two sides, and one end. At the other end, the earth is raised sloping, to walk up to the entrance, which is by a hole in the top of the roof over that end. The floor was boarded, and under it a kind of cellar, in which I saw nothing but water. And at the end of each house was a vaulted room, which I took to be a store-room. These store-rooms communicated with the house, by a dark passage ; and with the open air, by a hole in the roof, which was even with the ground one walked upon ; but they cannot be said to be wholly under ground ; for one end reached to the edge of the hill, along which they were made, and which was built up with stone. Over it stood a kind of sentry-box, or tower, composed of the large bones of large fish.

The summer huts were pretty large and circular, being brought to a point at the top. The framing was of slight poles and bones, covered with the skins of sea animals. I examined the inside of one. There was a fire place, just within the door, where lay a few wooden vessels, all very

dirty. Their bed-places were close to the side, and took up about half the circuit. Some privacy seemed to be observed, for there were several partitions made with skins. The bed and bedding were of deer-skins; and most of them were dry and clean.

About the habitations were erected several stages, ten or twelve feet high; such as we had observed on some parts of the American coast. They were wholly composed of bones; and seemed intended for drying their fish and skins, which were thus placed beyond the reach of their dogs, of which they had a great many. These dogs are of the fox kind, rather large, and of different colours, with long soft hair like wool. They are, probably, used in drawing their sledges in winter; for sledges they have, as I saw a great many laid up in one of the winter huts. It also is not improbable, that dogs may constitute a part of their food. Several lay dead, that had been killed that morning.

The canoes of these people are of the same sort with those of the northern Americans: some, both of the large and of the small ones, being seen lying in a creek under the village.

By the large fish-bones, and of other sea animals, it appeared that the sea supplied them with the greatest part of their subsistence. The country appeared to be exceedingly barren; yielding neither tree nor shrub, that we could see. At some distance westward, we observed a ridge of mountains covered with snow, that had lately fallen.

At first, we supposed this land to be a part of the island of Alaschka, laid down in Mr. Stæhlin's map before mentioned, but from the figure of the coast, the situation of the opposite shore of America, and from the longitude, we soon began to think that it was, more probably, the country of the Tschutski, or the eastern extremity of Asia, explored by Beering in 1728. But to have admitted this, without farther examination, I must have pronounced Mr. Stæhlin's map, and his account of the new northern Archipelago, to

be either exceedingly erroneous, even in latitude, or else to be a mere fiction; a judgment which I had no right to pass upon a publication so respectably vouched, without producing the clearest proofs.

After a stay of between two and three hours with these people, we returned to our ships; and, soon after, the wind veering to the south, we weighed anchor, stood out of the bay, and steered to the north-east, between the coast and the two islands. From this station we steered east, in order to get nearer the American coast. In this course the water shoaled gradually, and there being little wind, and all our endeavours to increase our depth failing, I was obliged at last to drop anchor in six fathoms; the only remedy we had left to prevent the ships driving into less. The nearest part of the western land bore west, twelve leagues distant; the peaked hill over Cape Prince of Wales, south  $16^{\circ}$  west; and the northernmost part of the American continent in sight, east-south-east, the nearest part about four leagues distant. After we had anchored, I sent a boat to sound, and the water was found to shoal gradually toward the land. While we lay at anchor, which was from six to nine in the evening, we found little or no current; nor could we perceive that the water either rose or fell. A breeze of wind springing up at north, we weighed, and stood to the westward, which course soon brought us into deep water; and, during the 12th, we plied to the north, both coasts being in sight; but we kept nearest to that of America.

At four in the afternoon of the 13th, a breeze springing up at south, I steered north-east by north, till four o'clock next morning, when seeing no land, we directed our course east by north; and between nine and ten, land, supposed to be a continuation of the continent, appeared. It extended from east by south to east by north; and, soon after, we saw more land, bearing north by east. Coming pretty suddenly into thirteen fathoms water, at two in the after-

noon, we made a trip off till four, when we stood in again for the land ; which was seen, soon after, extending from north to south-east ; the nearest part three or four leagues distant. The coast here forms a point, named Point Mulgrave, which lies in the latitude of  $67^{\circ} 45'$ ; and in the longitude of  $194^{\circ} 51'$ . The land appeared very low next the sea ; but, a little back, it rises into hills of a moderate height. The whole was free from snow ; and, to appearance, destitute of wood. I now tacked, and bore away north-west by west ; but, soon after, thick weather with rain coming on, and the wind increasing, I hauled more to the west.

Next morning, at two o'clock, the wind veered to south-west by south, and blew a strong gale, which abated at noon ; and the sun shining out, we found ourselves, by observation, in the latitude of  $68^{\circ} 18'$ . I now steered north-east, till six o'clock the next morning, when I steered two points more easterly. In this run, we met with several sea-horses, and flights of birds ; some like sand-larks, and others no bigger than hedge-sparrows. Some shags were also seen ; so that we judged ourselves to be not far from land, but as we had a thick fog, we could not see any ; and, as the wind blew strong, it was not prudent to continue a course which was most likely to bring us to it. From the noon of this day, to six o'clock in the morning of the following, I steered east by north ; which course brought us into sixteen fathoms water. I now steered north-east by east, thinking by this course to deepen our water. But, in the space of six leagues, it shoaled to eleven fathoms, which made me think it proper to haul close to the wind, that now blew at west. Toward noon, both sun and moon were seen clearly at intervals, and we got some flying observations for the longitude.

Some time before noon, we perceived a brightness in the northern horizon, like that reflected from ice, commonly called the blink. It was little noticed, from a supposition that it was improbable we should meet with ice so soon. And yet,



the sharpness of the air, and gloominess of the weather, for two or three days past, seemed to indicate some sudden change. About an hour after, the sight of a large field of ice, left us no longer in doubt about the cause of the brightness of the horizon. At half-past two, we tacked close to the edge of the ice, in twenty-two fathoms water, being in the latitude of  $70^{\circ}41'$ ; not being able to stand on any farther, for the ice was quite impenetrable, and extended from west by south, to east by north, as far as the eye could reach. Here were abundance of sea-horses; some in the water, but far more upon the ice. I had thoughts of hoisting out the boats to kill some; but the wind freshening, I gave up the design; and continued to ply to the southward, or rather to the westward; for the wind came from that quarter. We gained nothing; for, on the 18th at noon, our latitude was  $70^{\circ}44'$ ; and we were near five leagues farther to the eastward. We were, at this time, close to the edge of the ice, which was as compact as a wall; and seemed to be ten or twelve feet high at least. But, farther north, it appeared much higher. Its surface was extremely rugged; and here and there, we saw upon it pools of water.

We now stood to the southward; and, after running six leagues, shoaled the water to seven fathoms; but it soon deepened to nine fathoms. At this time, the weather, which had been hazy, clearing up a little, we saw land extending from south to south-east by east, about three or four miles distant. The eastern extreme forms a point, which was much encumbered with ice; for which reason it obtained the name of Icy Cape. Its latitude is  $70^{\circ}29'$ , and its longitude  $198^{\circ}20'$ . The other extreme of the land was lost in the horizon; so that there can be no doubt of its being a continuation of the American continent. The Discovery being about a mile astern, and to leeward, found less water than we did; and tacking on that account, I was obliged to tack also, to prevent separation.

Our situation was now more and more critical. We were

in shoal water, upon a lee shore; and the main body of the ice to windward, driving down upon us. It was evident that if we remained much longer between it and the land, it would force us ashore; unless it should happen to take the ground before us. It seemed nearly to join the land to leeward; and the only direction that was open, was to the south-west. After making a short board to the northward, I made the signal for the *Discovery* to tack, and tacked myself at the same time. The wind proved rather favourable; so that we lay up south-west, and south-west by west.

At eight in the morning of the 19th, the wind veering back to west, I tacked to the northward; and at noon the latitude was  $70^{\circ} 8'$  and the longitude  $106^{\circ} 42'$ . In this situation we had a good deal of drift ice about us, and the main ice was about two leagues to the north. At half past one, we got in with the edge of it: it was not so compact as that which we had seen to the northward; but it was too close, and in too large pieces, to attempt forcing the ships through it. On the ice lay a prodigious number of sea-horses, and as we were in want of fresh provisions, the boats from each ship were sent to get some. By seven o'clock in the evening we had received on board the *Resolution* nine of these animals. Some of the crew, who had been in Greenland, declared that no one ever eat of them; but notwithstanding this, we lived upon them as long as they lasted, and there were few on board who did not prefer them to our salt meat. The fat, at first, is as sweet as marrow; but in a few days it grows rancid, unless it be salted, in which state it will keep much longer. The lean flesh is coarse, black, and has rather a strong taste; the heart is nearly as well tasted as that of a bullock. The fat, when melted, yields a great deal of oil, which burns very well in lamps; and their hides, which are very thick, were useful about our rigging. The teeth, or tusks, of most of them were, at this time, very small; even some of the largest and oldest of these animals,

had them not exceeding six inches in length. From this we concluded, that they had lately shed their old teeth.

They lie, in herds of many hundreds, upon the ice; huddling one over the other like swine; and roar or bray very loud; so that, in the night, or in foggy weather, they gave us notice of the vicinity of the ice, before we could see it. We never found the whole herd asleep; some being always upon the watch. These, on the approach of the boat, would awake those next to them; and the alarm being thus gradually communicated, the whole herd would be awake presently. But they were seldom in a hurry to get away, till after they had been once fired at. Then they would tumble one over the other, into the sea, in the utmost confusion. And, if we did not, at the first discharge, kill those we fired at, we generally lost them, though mortally wounded. They did not appear to us to be that dangerous animal some authors have described; not even when attacked. They are rather more so to appearance, than in reality. Vast numbers of them would follow, and come close up to the boats. But the flash of a musquet in the pan, or even the bare pointing of one at them, would send them down in an instant. The female will defend the young one to the very last, and at the expense of her own life, whether in the water, or upon the ice. Nor will the young one quit the dam, though she be dead; so that, if you kill one, you are sure of the other. The dam, when in the water, holds the young one between her fore-fins.

Why they should be called sea-horses is hard to say, unless the word be a corruption of the Russian name *morse*; for they have not the least resemblance to an horse. This is, without doubt, the same animal that is found in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, and there called a sea-cow. It is certainly more like a cow than an horse, but this likeness consists in nothing but the snout. In short, it is an animal like a seal, but much larger. The dimensions and weight of one, which was none of the largest, were as follows:

|                                                   | Feet     | Inches |
|---------------------------------------------------|----------|--------|
| Length from the snout to the tail .....           | 9        | 4      |
| Length of neck, from snout to the shoulder-bone   | 2        | 6      |
| Height of the shoulder .....                      | 3        | 0      |
| Length of the fins { Fore .....                   | 2        | 4      |
| { Hind .....                                      | 2        | 6      |
| Breadth of the fins { Fore .....                  | 1        | 2½     |
| { Hind .....                                      | 2        | 0      |
| Snout { Breadth .....                             | 0        | 5½     |
| { Depth .....                                     | 1        | 3      |
| Circumference of the neck close to the ears ..... | 2        | 7      |
| Circumference of the body at the shoulder .....   | 7        | 10     |
| Circumference near the hind fins .....            | 3        | 6      |
| From the snout to the eyes .....                  | 0        | 7      |
| Weight of carcase, without head, skin or entrails | 854 lbs. |        |
| Head .....                                        | 41       | ½ lbs. |
| Skin .....                                        | 203      | lbs.   |

I could not find out what these animals feed upon ; there was nothing in the maws of those we killed.

It is worth observing, that for some days before this date, we had frequently seen flocks of ducks flying to the southward : they were of two sorts, the one much larger than the other ; the largest were of a brown colour ; and of the small sort, either the duck or drake was black and white, and the other brown. Some said they saw geese also. Does not this indicate that there must be land to the north, where these birds find shelter in the proper season to breed, and from whence they were now returning to a warmer climate ?

By the time we had got our sea-horses on board we were in a manner surrounded with the ice, and had no way to clear it but by standing to the southward ; which was done till three o'clock next morning, with a gentle breeze westerly, and, for the most part, thick foggy weather. We then tacked, and stood to the north till ten o'clock, when the wind veering to the northward, we directed our course to the west-south-west and west. At two in the afternoon we fell in with the main ice, along the edge of which we kept, being partly directed by the roaring of the sea-horses, for we had a very thick fog. Thus we continued sailing till near midnight. I now hauled to the southward, and at ten o'clock

the next morning the fog clearing away, we saw the continent of America, extending from south by east to east by south; and at noon, from south-west half south to east, the nearest part five leagues distant. At this time we were in the latitude of  $69^{\circ} 32'$  and in the longitude  $195^{\circ} 48'$ ; and as the main ice was at no great distance from us, it is evident that it now covered a part of the sea, which, but a few days before, was clear, and that it extended farther to the south than when we first fell in with it. It must not be understood that I supposed any part of this ice to be fixed; on the contrary, I am well assured the whole was a moveable mass.

Having but little wind, in the afternoon I sent the master in a boat to try if there was any current, but he found none. I continued to steer in for the American land until eight o'clock, in order to get a nearer view of it, and to look for a harbour; but seeing nothing like one, I stood again to the north with a light breeze westerly. At this time the coast extended from south-west to east, the nearest part four or five leagues distant. The southern extremity seemed to form a point, which was named Cape Lisburne, and appeared to be high land, even down to the sea. But there may be low land under it, which we might not see, being not less than ten leagues from it.

On the 22d, the wind was southerly and the weather foggy, with some intervals of sunshine. At eight in the evening it fell calm, which continued till midnight, when we heard the surge of the sea against the ice, and had several loose pieces about us. At eight o'clock next morning the fog dispersed, and I hauled to the westward; for finding that I could not get to the north near the coast, on account of the ice, I resolved to try what could be done at a distance from it, and as the wind seemed to be settled at north, I thought it a good opportunity. As we advanced to the west, the water deepened gradually to twenty-eight fathoms, which was the most we had. With the northerly wind the air was raw, sharp, and cold; and we had fogs, sunshine,

showers of snow and sleet, by turns. At ten in the morning of the 26th we fell in with the ice; at noon, it extended from north-west to east by north, and appeared to be thick and compact. At this time we were in the latitude  $69^{\circ} 36'$  and long.  $184^{\circ}$ ; so that it now appeared we had no better prospect of getting to the north here, than nearer the shore. I continued to stand to the westward till five in the afternoon, when we were in a manner embayed by the ice, which appeared high and close in the north-west and north-east quarters, with a deal of loose ice about the edge of the main field. At this time we had baffling light winds; but it soon fixed at south, and increased to a fresh gale, with showers of rain. We got the tack aboard and stretched to the eastward; this being the only direction in which the sea was clear of ice. At four in the morning of the 27th, we tacked and stood to the west, and at seven in the evening we were close in with the edge of the ice, which lay east-north-east, and west-south-west, as far each way as the eye could reach. Having but little wind, I went with the boats, to examine the state of the ice. I found it consisting of loose pieces, of various extent, and so close together, that I could hardly enter the outer edge with a boat; and it was as impossible for the ships to enter it, as if it had been so many rocks. I took particular notice, that it was all pure transparent ice, except the upper surface, which was a little porous. It appeared to be entirely composed of frozen snow, and to have been all formed at sea; for, setting aside the improbability, or rather impossibility, of such huge masses floating out of rivers, in which there is hardly water for a boat, none of the productions of the land were found incorporated, or fixed in it; which must have unavoidably been the case, had it been formed in rivers, either great or small.

The pieces of ice that formed the outer edge of the field, were from forty or fifty yards in extent, to four or five; and I judged, that the larger pieces reached thirty feet, or more, under the surface of the water. It also appeared to



me very improbable, that this ice could have been the production of the preceding winter alone. I should suppose it rather to have been the production of a great many winters. Nor was it less improbable, according to my judgment, that the little that remained of the summer, could destroy the tenth part of what now subsisted of this mass; for the sun had already exerted upon it the full influence of his rays. Indeed I am of opinion, that the sun contributes very little toward reducing these great masses. For although that luminary is a considerable while above the horizon, it seldom shines out for more than a few hours at a time; and very often is not seen for several days in succession. It is the wind, or rather the waves raised by the wind, that brings down the bulk of these enormous masses, by grinding one piece against another, and by undermining and washing away those parts that lie exposed to the surge of the sea. This was evident, from our observing, that the upper surface of many pieces had been partly washed away, while the base or under part remained firm for several fathoms round that which appeared above water, exactly like a shoal round an elevated rock. We measured the depth of water upon one, and found it to be fifteen feet; so that the ships might have sailed over it. If I had not measured this depth, I would not have believed that there was a sufficient weight of ice above the surface, to have sunk the other so much below it. Thus it may happen, that more ice is destroyed in one stormy season, than is formed in several winters, and an endless accumulation is prevented. But that there is always a remaining store, every one who has been upon the spot will conclude, and none but closet-studying philosophers will dispute.

A thick fog, which came on while I was thus employed with the boats, hastened me aboard rather sooner than I could have wished, with one sea-horse to each ship. We had killed more, but could not wait to bring them with us. The number of these animals, on all the ice we had seen,

is almost incredible. We spent the night standing off and on, amongst the drift ice; and at nine o'clock the next morning, the fog having partly dispersed, boats from each ship were sent for sea-horses; for by this time, our people began to relish them, and those we had procured before were all consumed. At noon, our lat. was  $69^{\circ} 17'$ , our long.  $183^{\circ}$ ; the variation by the morning azimuths,  $25^{\circ} 50'$  east; and the depth of water twenty-five fathoms. At two o'clock, having got on board as much marine beef as was thought necessary, and the wind freshening at south-south-east, we took on board the boats, and stretched to the south-west; but not being able to weather the ice upon this tack, or to go through it, we made a board to the east, till eight o'clock, then resumed our course to the south-west, and before midnight were obliged to tack again, on account of the ice. Soon after, the wind shifted to the north-west, blowing a stiff gale, and we stretched to the south-west, close hauled.

In the morning of the 29th, we saw the main ice to the northward, and not long after, land, bearing south-west by west. Presently after this, more land shewed itself, bearing west. It shewed itself in two hills like islands, but afterward the whole appeared connected. As we approached the land, the depth of water decreased very fast; so that at noon, when we tacked, we had only eight fathoms; being three miles from the coast, which extended from south  $30^{\circ}$  east, to north,  $60^{\circ}$  west. This last extreme terminated in a bluff point, being one of the hills above mentioned.

The weather at this time was very hazy, with drizzling rain; but soon after it cleared; especially to the southward, westward, and northward. This enabled us to have a pretty good view of the coast; which, in every respect, is like the opposite one of America; that is, low land next the sea, with elevated land farther back. It was perfectly destitute of wood, and even snow; but was, probably, covered with a mossy substance, that gave it a brownish cast. In the low ground lying between the high land and the sea,

was a lake, extending to the south-east, farther than we could see. As we stood off, the westernmost of the two hills before mentioned came open off the bluff point, in the direction of north-west. It had the appearance of being an island; but it might be joined to the other by low land, though we did not see it; and if so, there is a two-fold point, with a bay between them. This point, which is steep and rocky, was named Cape North; its situation is nearly in the lat. of  $68^{\circ} 56'$ , and in the long. of  $180^{\circ} 51'$ . The coast beyond it must take a very westerly direction; for we could see no land to the northward of it, though the horizon was there pretty clear. Being desirous of seeing more of the coast to westward, we tacked again, at two o'clock in the afternoon, thinking we could weather Cape North. But finding we could not, the wind freshening, a thick fog coming on, with much snow, and being fearful of the ice coming down upon us, I gave up the design I had formed of plying to the westward, and stood off shore again.

The season was now so far advanced, and the time when the frost is expected to set in so near at hand, that I did not think it consistent with prudence, to make any farther attempts to find a passage into the Atlantic this year, in any direction; so little was the prospect of succeeding. My attention was now directed toward finding out some place where we might supply ourselves with wood and water; and the object uppermost in my thoughts was, how I should spend the winter, so as to make some improvements in geography and navigation, and at the same time, be in a condition to return to the north, in farther search of a passage, the ensuing summer.

After standing off till we got into eighteen fathoms water, I bore up to the eastward along the coast of Asia. At day-break on the 30th, we made sail, and steered such a course as I thought would bring us in with the land. For the weather was as thick as ever, and it snowed incessantly. At ten we got sight of the coast, bearing south-west, four

miles distant. The inland country hereabout is full of hills ; some of which are of a considerable height. The land was covered with snow. September 2d, we had now fair weather and sunshine ; and, as we ranged along the coast, at the distance of four miles, we saw several of the inhabitants, and some of their habitations, which looked like little hillocks of earth. None of them however attempted to come off to us ; which seemed a little extraordinary, as the weather was favourable. These people must be the Tschutski ; a nation that at the time Mr. Muller wrote, the Russians had not been able to conquer.

The more I was convinced of my being now upon the coast of Asia, the more I was at a loss to reconcile Mr. Staehlin's map of the New Northern Archipelago with my observations ; and I had no way to account for the great difference, but by supposing that I had mistaken some part of what he calls the Island of Alaschka for the American continent, and had missed the channel that separates them. Admitting even this, there would still have been a considerable difference. It was with me a matter of some consequence to clear up this point the present season, that I might have but one object in view the next. And as these northern isles are represented by him as abounding with wood, I was in hopes, if I should find them, of getting a supply of that article, which we now began to be in great want of on board. With these views, I steered over for the American coast, and on the 6th we got sight of it. Pursuing our course, on the 9th we found ourselves upon a coast covered with wood ; an agreeable sight, to which of late we had not been accustomed. Next morning, being about a league from the west shore, I took two boats and landed, attended by Mr. King, to seek wood and water. Here we observed tracks of deer and foxes on the beech, on which also lay a great quantity of drift wood, and there was no want of fresh water. I returned on board with an intention to bring the ships to an anchor here ; but the wind

veering to north-east, I stretched over to the opposite shore, in hopes of finding wood there also, and anchored at eight o'clock in the evening, but next morning we found it to be a peninsula, united to the continent by a low neck of land, on each side of which the coast forms a bay, which obtained the name of Cape Denbigh.

Several people were seen upon the peninsula, and one man came off in a small canoe. I gave him a knife and a few beads, with which he seemed well pleased. Having made signs to him to bring us something to eat, he immediately left us, and paddled toward the shore. But meeting another man coming off, who happened to have two dried salmon, he got them from him; and, on returning to the ship, would give them to nobody but me. Some of our people thought that he had asked for me under the name of Capitane; but, in this, they were probably mistaken.

Lieut Gore being now sent to the peninsula, reported that there was but little fresh water, and that wood was difficult to be got at, by reason of the boats grounding at some distance from the beach. This being the case, I stood back to the other shore, and at eight o'clock the next morning sent all the boats, and a party of men, with an officer, to get wood from the place where I had landed two days before.

Next day a family of the natives came near to our wooding party. I know not how many there were at first, but I saw only the husband, the wife, and their child; and a fourth person, who bore the human shape, and that was all, for he was the most deformed cripple I had ever seen. The husband was almost blind; and neither he nor his wife were such good-looking people as we had sometimes seen among the natives of this coast. The under lips of both were bored, and they had in their possession some such glass beads as I had met with before among their neighbours. Iron was their favourite article: for four knives, which we had made out of an old iron hoop, I got from them near four hundred pounds weight of fish, which they had caught on

this or the preceding day. I gave the child, who was a girl, a few beads; on which the mother burst into tears, then the father, then the cripple, and at last, to complete the concert, the girl herself. Capt. King had an interview with this family, of which he gives the following account: On the 12th, while I attended the wooding party, a canoe full of natives approached us, and on my beckoning them to land, an elderly man and woman came on shore. I gave the woman a small knife, making her understand that I would give her a much larger one for some fish. She made signs for me to follow her. I had proceeded with them about a mile, when the man, in crossing a stony beach, fell down, and cut his foot very much. This made me stop; upon which the woman pointed to the man's eyes, which I observed were covered with a thick white film. He afterward kept close to his wife, who apprized him of the obstacles in his way. The woman had a little child on her back, covered with the hood of her jacket, and which I took for a bundle, till I heard it cry. At about two miles distant we came to their open skin boat, which was turned on its side, the convex part towards the wind, and served for their house. I was now made to perform a singular operation on the man's eyes. First I was directed to hold my breath; afterwards, to breathe on the diseased eyes; and next, to spit on them. The woman then took both my hands, and pressing them to his stomach, held them there for some time, while she related some calamitous history of her family; pointing sometimes to her husband, sometimes to a frightful cripple belonging to the family, and sometimes to her child. I purchased all the fish they had, consisting of very fine salmon, salmon-trout, and mullet, which were delivered most faithfully to the man I sent for them. The man was about five feet two inches high, and well made; his colour of a light copper, his hair black and short, and with little beard. He had two holes in his under lip, but no ornaments in them. The woman was short and squat, with a plump round face, wore a



deer-skin jacket with a large hood, and had on wide boots. The teeth of both were black, and seemed as if they had been filed down level with the gums. The woman was punctured from the lip to the chin.

Before night we had got the ships amply supplied with wood, and had carried on board above twelve tons of water to each. Some doubts being still entertained whether the coast we were now upon belonged to an island, or the American continent, and the shallowness of the water putting it out of our power to determine this with our ships, I sent Lieut. King, with two boats under his command, to make such searches as might leave no room for a variety of opinions on the subject. This officer returned from his expedition on the 16th, and reported that he proceeded with the boats about three or four leagues farther than the ships had been able to go; that he then landed on the west side; that from the heights he could see the two coasts join, and the inlet terminate in a small river or creek, before which were banks of sand or mud, and every where shoal water. From the elevated spot on which Mr. King surveyed the Sound, he could distinguish many extensive valleys, with rivers running through them, well wooded, and bounded by hills of a gentle ascent and moderate height. In honour of Sir Fletcher Norton, Speaker of the House of Commons, and Mr. King's near relative, I named this inlet Norton's Sound.

Having now fully satisfied myself that Mr. Stæhlin's map must be erroneous, and having restored the American continent to that space which he had occupied with his imaginary island of Alaschka, it was high time to think of leaving these northern regions, and to retire to some place during the winter, where I might procure some refreshments for my people, and a small supply of provisions. Petropaulowska, or the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul, in Kamtschatka, did not appear likely to furnish either the one or the other, for so large a number of men. I had, besides, other reasons for not repairing thither at this time. The first, and on

which all the others depended, was the great dislike I had to lie inactive for six or seven months; which would have been the necessary consequence of wintering in any of these northern parts. No place was so conveniently within our reach, where we could expect to have our wants relieved, as the Sandwich Islands. To them, therefore, I determined to proceed.

On the 2d of October, at day break, we saw the island of Oonalashka, bearing south-east. But as this was to us a new point of view, and the land was obscured by a thick haze, we were not sure of our situation till noon, when the observed latitude determined it. As all harbours were alike to me, provided they were equally safe and convenient, I hauled into a bay, that lies ten miles to the westward of Samganoodha, known by the name of Egoohshac; but we found very deep water, so that we were glad to get out again. The natives, many of whom lived here, visited us at different times, bringing with them dried salmon, and other fish, which they exchanged with the seamen for tobacco. A few days before, every ounce of tobacco that was in the ship had been distributed among them; and the quantity was not half sufficient to answer their demands. Notwithstanding this, so improvident a creature is an English sailor, that they were as profuse in making their bargains as if we were in a port of Virginia; by which means, in less than eight and forty hours, the value of this article of barter was lowered above a thousand per cent.

At one o'clock in the afternoon of the 3d, we anchored in Samganoodha harbour, and the next morning the carpenters of both ships were set to work to rip off the sheathing of and under the wale, on the starboard side abaft. Many of the seams were found quite open; so that it was no wonder that so much water had found its way into the ship. While we lay here, we cleared the fish and spirit rooms, and the after-hold; disposing things in such a manner, that in case we should happen to have any more leaks of the same

nature, the water might find its way to the pumps. And besides this work, and completing our water, we cleared the fore-hold to the very bottom, and took in a quantity of ballast.

The vegetables which we had met with, when we were here before, were now mostly in a state of decay; so that we were but little benefited by the great quantities of berries every where found ashore. In order to avail ourselves as much as possible of this useful refreshment, one third of the people, by turns, had leave to go and pick them. Considerable quantities of them were also procured from the natives. If there were any seeds of the scurvy, in either ship, these berries, and the use of spruce beer, which they had to drink every other day, effectually eradicated them.

We also got plenty of fish; at first, mostly salmon, both fresh and dried, which the natives brought us. Some of the fresh salmon was in high perfection; but there was one sort, which we called hook-nosed, from the figure of its head, that was but indifferent. We drew the seine several times, at the head of the bay; and caught a good many salmon trout, and once a halibut that weighed two hundred and fifty-four pounds. The fishery failing, we had recourse to hooks and lines. A boat was sent out every morning; and seldom returned without eight or ten halibut, which was more than sufficient to serve all our people. The halibut were excellent, and there were few who did not prefer them to salmon. Thus we not only procured a supply of fish for present consumption, but had some to carry with us to sea. This enabled us to make a considerable saving of our provisions, which was an object of no small importance.

On the 8th, I received by the hands of an Oonalashka man, named Derramoushk, a very singular present, considering the place. It was a rye loaf, or rather a pye made in the form of a loaf, for it inclosed some salmon, highly seasoned with pepper. This man had the like present for Capt. Clarke, and a note for each of us, written in a character which none of us could read. It was natural to sup-

pose, that this present was from some Russians now in our neighbourhood ; and therefore we sent, by the same hand, to these our unknown friends, a few bottles of rum, wine, and porter, which we thought would be as acceptable as any thing we had besides ; and we soon knew that in this we had not been mistaken. I also sent along with Derramoushk, Corporal Lediard of the marines, an intelligent man, in order to gain some farther information, with orders, that if he met with any Russians, he should endeavour to make them understand, that we were English, the friends and allies of their nation.

On the 10th, Lediard returned with three Russian seamen, or furriers ; who, with some others, resided at Egoochshao, where they had a dwelling-house, some store-houses, and a sloop about thirty tons burthen. One of these men was either Master or Mate of this vessel ; another of them wrote a very good hand, and understood figures and they were all three well-behaved intelligent men, and very ready to give me all the information I could desire, but for want of an interpreter, we had some difficulty to understand each other. They appeared to have a thorough knowledge of the attempts that had been made by their countrymen to navigate the Frozen Ocean, and of the discoveries which had been made from Kamtschatka, by Beering, Tschirikoff, and Spangberg. But they seemed to know no more of Lieut. Syndo, or Synd, than his name. Nor had they the least idea what part of the world Mr. Stæhlin's map referred to, when it was laid before them. When I pointed out Kamtschatka, and some other known places, upon that map, they asked, whether I had seen the islands there laid down ; and on my answering in the negative, one of them put his finger upon a part of this map, where a number of islands are represented, and said, that he had cruised there for land, but never could find any. I then laid before them my own chart ; and found that they were strangers to every part of the American coast, except what lies opposite this

island. One of these men said, that he had been with Beer-  
ing, in his American voyage; but must then have been  
very young, for he had not now, at the distance of thirty-  
seven years, the appearance of being aged. Never was  
there greater respect paid to the memory of any distinguish-  
ed person, than by these men to that of Beer-  
ing. The trade  
in which they are engaged is very beneficial; and its being  
undertaken and extended to the eastward of Kamtschatka,  
was the immediate consequence of the second voyage of  
that able navigator, whose misfortunes proved to be the  
source of much private advantage to individuals, and of  
public utility to the Russian nation. And yet, if his dis-  
tresses had not accidentally carried him to die in the island  
which bears his name, and from whence the miserable rem-  
nant of his ships' crew brought back sufficient specimens  
of its valuable furs, probably the Russians never would  
have undertaken any future voyages, which could lead them  
to make discoveries in this sea, toward the coast of America.  
Indeed, after his time, government seems to have paid less  
attention to this; and we owe what discoveries have been  
since made, principally to the enterprizing spirit of private  
traders, encouraged, however, by the superintending care  
of the Court of Petersburg. The three Russians having  
remained with me all night, visited Capt. Clerke next  
morning; and then left us, very well satisfied with the re-  
ception they had met with; promising to return in a few  
days, and to bring with them a chart of the islands lying  
between Oonalashka and Kamtschatka.

On the 14th, in the evening, while Mr. Webber and I  
were at a village a small distance from Samganoodha, a Rus-  
sian landed there, who, I found, was the principal person  
among his countrymen in this and the neighbouring islands.  
His name was Erasim Gregorloff Sin Ismyloff. He arrived  
in a canoe carrying three persons, attended by twenty or  
thirty other canoes, each conducted by one man. I took  
notice, that the first thing they did, after landing, was to

make a small tent for Ismyloff, of materials which they brought them; and then they made others for themselves, of their canoes and paddles, which they covered with grass; so that the people of the village were at no trouble to find them lodging. Ismyloff having invited us into his tent, set before us some dried salmon and berries; which, I was satisfied, was the best cheer he had. He appeared to be a sensible intelligent man; and I felt no small mortification in not being able to converse with him, unless by signs, assisted by figures, and other characters, which however were a very great help. I desired to see him on board the next day; and accordingly he came, with all his attendants. Indeed, he had moved into our neighbourhood, for the express purpose of waiting upon us.

I was in hopes to have had by him the chart which his three countrymen had promised; but I was disappointed. However, he assured me I should have it; and he kept his word. I found that he was very well acquainted with the geography of these parts, and with all the discoveries that had been made in them by the Russians. On seeing the modern maps, he at once pointed out their errors. He told me, he had accompanied Lieut. Syndo, or Synd as he called him, in his expedition to the north; and, according to his account, they did not proceed farther than the Tschukotka Nose, or rather than the bay of St. Laurence; for he pointed on our chart to the very place where I landed. From thence, he said, they went to an island in lat. 63°, upon which they did not land, nor could he tell me its name. But I should guess it to be the same to which I gave the name of Clarke's Island. To what place Synd went after that, or in what manner he spent his two years, during which, as Ismyloff said, his researches lasted, he either could or would not inform me. Perhaps he did not comprehend my inquiries about this; but yet, in almost every other thing, we could converse and understand us. This



created a suspicion, that he had not really been in that expedition, notwithstanding his assertion.

Both Ismyloff and the others affirmed, that they knew nothing of the continent of America to the northward; and that neither Lieut. Synd, nor any other Russian, had ever seen it of late. They call it by the same name which Mr. Stæhlin gives to his great island; that is, Alaschka. Stachtan Nitada, as it is called in the modern maps, is a name quite unknown to these people, natives of the islands as well as Russians; but both of them know it by the name of America. From what we could gather from Ismyloff and his countrymen, the Russians have made several attempts to get a footing upon that part of this continent that lies contiguous to Oonalaskha and the adjoining islands, but have always been repulsed by the natives; whom they describe as a very treacherous people. They mentioned two or three captains, or chief men, who had been murdered by them; and some of the Russians shewed us wounds which, they said, they had received there.

Some other information, which we got from Ismyloff, is worth recording, whether true or false. He told us, that in the year 1773, an expedition had been made into the Frozen Sea in sledges, over the ice, to three large islands that lie opposite the mouth of the river Kovyma. We were in some doubt whether he did not mean the same expedition of which Muller gives an account; and yet he wrote down the year, and marked the islands on the chart. But a voyage which he himself had performed, engaged our attention more than any other. He said, that on the 12th of May 1771, he sailed from Bolscheretsk, in a Russian vessel, to one of the Kuril islands, named Marekan, in the latitude of  $47^{\circ}$ , where there is a harbour, and a Russian settlement. From this island, he proceeded to Japan, where he seems to have made but a short stay. For when the Japanese came to know that he and his companions were christians, they made signs for them to be gone; but did

not, so far as we could understand him, offer any insult or force. From Japan, he got to Cânton ; and from thence to France, in a French ship. From France, he travelled to Petersburg ; and was afterward sent out again to Kamtschatka. What became of the vessel in which he first embarked, we could not learn ; nor what was the principal object of the voyage. His not being able to speak one word of French, made this story a little suspicious. He did not even know the name of any one of the most common things that must have been in use every day, while he was on board ship, and in France ; and yet he seemed clear as to the times of his arriving at the different places ; and of his leaving them, which he put down in writing.

The next morning, he would fain have made me a present of a sea-otter skin, which, he said, was worth eighty roubles at Kamtschatka. However, I thought proper to decline it ; but I accepted of some dried fish, and several baskets of the lily, or saranne root, which is described at large in the history of Kamtschatka. In the afternoon, Mr. Ismyloff, after dining with Captain Clerke, left us with all his retinue, promising to return in a few days. Accordingly, on the 10th, he made us another visit, and brought with him the charts before mentioned, which he allowed me to copy. He remained with us till the 21st in the evening, when he took his final leave. To his care I intrusted a letter to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, in which was inclosed a chart of all the northern coasts I had visited. He said there would be an opportunity of sending it to Kamtschatka or to Okotak, the ensuing Spring, and that it would be at Petersburg the following winter. He gave me a letter to Major Behm, governor of Kamtschatka, who resides at Bolschereetak ; and another to the commanding officer at Petropaulowska. Mr. Ismyloff seemed to have abilities that might entitle him to a higher station in life than that in which we found him. He was tolerably well versed in astronomy and in the most useful branches of the mathematics. I made

him a present of an Hadley's octant; and though probably it was the first he had ever seen, he made himself acquainted in a very short time with most of the uses to which that instrument can be applied.

In the morning of the 22d, we made an attempt to get to sea, with the wind at south-east, which miscarried. The following afternoon we were visited by one Jacob Ivanovitch Soposnicoff, a Russian, who commanded a boat or small vessel, at Oomanak. This man had a great share of modesty, and would drink no strong liquor, of which the rest of his countrymen whom we had met with here were immoderately fond. He seemed to know more accurately what supplies could be got at the harbour of Petropaulowska, and the price of the different articles, than Mr. Ismyloff. But, by all accounts, every thing we should want at that place was very scarce, and bore a high price. Flour, for instance, was from three to five roubles the pood or 36 lbs, and deer from three to five roubles each. This man told that he was to be at Petropaulowska in May next; and I understood, was to have the charge of my letter. He seemed to be exceedingly desirous of having some token from me to carry to Major Behm; and, to gratify him, I sent a small spying-glass.

After we became acquainted with these Russians, some of our gentlemen, at different times, visited their settlement on the island, where they always met with a hearty welcome. This settlement consisted of a dwelling-house, and two store-houses; and besides the Russians, there were a number of the Kamtschadales, and of the natives, as servants, or slaves, to the former. Some others of the natives, who seemed independent of the Russians, lived at the same place. Such of them as belonged to the Russians were all males; and they are taken, or perhaps purchased, from their parents when young. There were, at this time, about twenty of these, who could be looked upon in no other light than as children. They all live in the same house; the Russians at

the upper end, the Kamtschadales in the middle, and the natives at the lower end, where a large boiler is fixed for preparing their food, which consists chiefly of what the sea produces, with the addition of wild roots and berries. There is little difference between the first and last table, besides what is produced by cookery, in which the Russians have the art to make indifferent things palatable. I have eat whale's flesh of their dressing, which I thought very good; and they made a kind of pan pudding of salmon roe, beaten up fine, and fried, which was no bad succedaneum for bread. They may, now and then, taste real bread, or have a dish in which flour is an ingredient, but this can only be an occasional luxury. If we except the juice of berries, which they sip at their meals, they have no other liquor besides pure water; and it seems to be very happy for them that they have nothing stronger.

As the island supplies them with food, so it does, in a great measure, with clothing. This consists chiefly of skins, and is, perhaps, the best they could have. The upper garment is made like our waggoner's frock, and reaches as low as the knee. Besides this, they wear a waistcoat or two, a pair of breeches, a fur cap, and a pair of boots, the soles and upper leathers of which are of Russian leather, but the legs are made of some kind of strong gut. Their two chiefs, Ismyloff and Ivanovitch, wore each a calico frock; and they, as well as some others, had shirts of silk.

There are Russians settled upon all the principal islands between Oonalashka and Kamtschatka, for the sole purpose of collecting furs. Their great object is the sea beaver or otter. I never heard them enquire after any other animal, though those whose skins are of inferior value also form part of their cargoes. I never thought to ask how long they have had a settlement upon Oonalashka and the neighbouring isles; but to judge from the great subjection the natives are under, this cannot be of a very late date. All these furriers are relieved, from time to time, by others. Those we

met with arrived here from Okotsk, in 1776, and are to return in 1781, so that their stay in the island will be four years at least.

It is now time to give some account of the native inhabitants. To all appearance, they are the most peaceable, inoffensive people, I ever met with. And, as to honesty, they might serve as a pattern to the most civilized nation upon earth. But, from what I saw of their neighbours, with whom the Russians have no connection, I doubt whether this was their original disposition; and rather think that it has been the consequence of their present state of subjection. Indeed, if some of our gentlemen did not misunderstand the Russians, they had been obliged to make some severe examples, before they could bring the islanders to any order. If there were severities inflicted at the first, the best apology for them is, that they have produced the happiest consequences; and, at present, the greatest harmony subsists between the two nations. The natives have their own chiefs in each island, and seem to enjoy liberty and property unmolested. But whether or not they are tributaries to the Russians, we could never find out. There was some reason to think that they are. These people are rather low of stature, but plump and well shaped; with rather short necks, swarthy chubby faces, black eyes, small beards, and long, straight, black hair; which the men wear loose behind, and cut before, but the women tie it up in a bunch. Both sexes wear the same in fashion, the only difference is in the materials. The women's frock is made of seal skin; and that of the men, of the skins of birds; both reaching below the knee. This is the whole dress of the women. But, over the frock, the men wear another made of gut, which resists water; and has a hood to it, which draws over the head. Some of them wear boots; and all of them have a kind of oval snouted cap, made of wood, with a rim to admit the head. These caps are dyed with green and other colours, and round the upper part of the rim, are stuck the long bristles of some sea-an-

mal, on which are strung glass beads, and on the front is a small image or two made of bone.

They make use of no paint; but the women puncture their faces slightly, and both men and women bore the under-lip, to which they fix pieces of bone. But it is as uncommon, at Oonalashka, to see a man with this ornament, as to see a woman without it. Some fix beads to the upper lip, under the nostrils, and all of them hang ornaments in their ears. Their food consists of fish, sea-animals, birds, roots, and berries; and even of sea-weed. They dry large quantities of fish in summer, which they lay up in small huts for winter use; and probably they preserve roots and berries for the same time of scarcity. They eat almost every thing raw. Boiling and broiling were the only methods of cookery that I saw them make use of, and the first was probably learnt from the Russians. Some have got little brass kettles; and those who have not, make one of a flat stone, with sides of clay, not unlike a standing pye. I was once present when the chief of Oonalashka made his dinner of the raw head of a large halibut, just caught. Before any was given to the chief, two of his servants eat the gills, without any other dressing besides squeezing out the slime: this done, one of them cut off the head of the fish, took it to the sea, and washed it; then came with it, and sat down by the chief, first pulling up some grass, upon a part of which the head was laid, and the rest was strewed before the chief. He then cut large pieces of the cheeks, and laid these within the reach of the great man, who swallowed them with as much satisfaction as we should do raw oysters. When he had done, the remains of the head were cut in pieces and given to the attendants, who tore off the meat with their teeth and knawed the bones like so many dogs.

As these people use no paint, they are not so dirty in their persons as the savages who thus besmear themselves, but they are full as lousy and filthy in their houses. Their method of building is as follows: they dig in the ground an



oblong square pit, the length of which seldom exceeds fifty feet, and the breadth twenty ; but in general the dimensions are smaller. Over this excavation they form the roof of wood which the sea throws ashore : this roof is covered first with grass, and then with earth, so that the outward appearance is like a dunghill. In the middle of the roof, toward each end, is left a square opening, by which the light is admitted ; one of these openings being for this purpose only, and the other being also used to go in and out by, with the help of a ladder, or rather a post with steps cut in it. In some houses there is another entrance below, but this is not common. Round the sides and ends of the huts, the families (for several are lodged together) have their separate apartments, where they sleep, and sit at work, not upon benches, but in a kind of concave trench, which is dug all round the inside of the house, and covered with mats, so that this part is kept tolerably decent. But the middle of the house, which is common to all the families, is far otherwise ; for although it be covered with dry grass, it is a receptacle for dirt of every kind. Behind and over the trench are placed the few effects they are possessed of ; such as their clothing, mats, and skins.

Their household furniture consists of bowls, spoons, buckets, piggins or cans, matted baskets, and perhaps a Russian kettle or pot. All these utensils are very neatly made, and well formed ; and yet we saw no other tools among them but the knife and the hatchet ; that is, a small flat piece of iron, made like an adze, by fitting it into a crooked wooden handle. These were the only instruments we met with there, made of iron ; for although the Russians live amongst them, we found much less of this metal in their possession, than we had met with in the possession of other tribes on the American continent, who had never seen, nor perhaps had any intercourse with the Russians. Probably a few beads, a little tobacco, and snuff, purchase all they have to spare. There are few if any of them, that

do not both smoke, and chew tobacco, and take snuff; a luxury that bids fair to keep them always poor.

They did not seem to wish for more iron, or to want any other instruments, except sewing needles, their own being made of bone. With these they not only sew their canoes, and make their clothes, but also very curious embroidery. Instead of thread, they use the fibres of sinews, which they split to the thickness which each sort of work requires. All sewing is performed by the women. They are the taylor, shoe-makers, and boat-builders, or boat coverers; for the men, most probably, construct the frame of wood over which the skins are sewed. They make mats and baskets of grass, that are both beautiful and strong. Indeed there is a neatness and perfection in most of their work, that shews they neither want ingenuity nor perseverance.

I saw not a fire place in any one of their houses; they are lighted as well as heated by lamps, which are simple, and yet answer the purpose very well. They are made of a flat stone, hollowed on one side like a plate, and about the same size, or rather larger. In the hollow part they put the oil, mixed with a little dry grass, which serves the purpose of a wick. Both men and women frequently warm their bodies over one of these lamps, by placing it between their legs, under their garments, and sitting thus over it a few minutes.

They produce fire both by collision and by attrition; the former by striking two stones one against another, on one of which a good deal of brimstone is first rubbed. The latter method is with two pieces of wood; one of which is a stick about eighteen inches in length, and the other a flat piece. The pointed end of the stick they press upon the other, whirling it nimbly round as a drill; thus producing fire in a few minutes. This method is common in many parts of the world. It is practised by the Kamtschadales, by these people, by the Greenlanders, by the Brazilians, by the Otaholtians, by the New Hollanders; and probably by many other nations. Yet some learned and ingenious men

have founded an argument on this custom to prove, that this and that nation are of the same extraction. But accidental agreements, in a few particular instances, will not authorise such a conclusion; nor will a disagreement, either in manners or customs, between two different nations, of course, prove that they are of different extraction. I could support this opinion by many instances besides the one just mentioned.

No such thing as an offensive or even defensive weapon was seen amongst the natives of Oonalashka. We cannot suppose that the Russians found them in such a defenceless state; it is more probable that, for their own security, they have disarmed them. Political reasons too may have induced the Russians not to allow these islanders to have any large canoes, for it is difficult to believe they had none such originally, as we found them amongst all their neighbours; however, we saw none here but one or two belonging to the Russians. The canoes made use of by the natives are the smallest we had any where seen upon the American coast; though built after the same manner, with some little difference in the construction. The stern of these terminates a little abruptly; the head is forked, the upper point of the fork projecting without the under one, which is even with the surface of the water. Why they should thus construct them is difficult to conceive; for the fork is apt to catch hold of every thing that comes in the way; to prevent which, they fix a piece of small stick from point to point. In other respects, their canoes are built after the manner of those used by the Greenlanders and Esquimaux; the framing being of slender laths, and the covering of seal-skins. They are about twelve feet long; a foot and a half broad in the middle; and twelve or fourteen inches deep. Upon occasion, they can carry two persons; one of whom is stretched at full length in the canoe, and the other sits in the seat or round hole, which is nearly in the middle. Round this hole is a rim or hoop of wood, about which is sewed gut-

skin, that can be drawn together, or opened like a purse, with leathern thongs fitted to the outer edge. The man seats himself in this place, draws the skin tight round his body over his gut-frock, and brings the end of the thongs or purse-string, over the shoulder to keep it in its place. The sleeves of his frock are tied tight round his wrists; and it being close round his neck, and the hood drawn over his head, where it is confined by his cap, water can scarcely penetrate either to his body, or into the canoe. If any should, however, insinuate itself, the boatman carries a piece of sponge, with which he dries it up. He uses the double-bladed paddle, which is held by both hands in the middle, striking the water with a quick regular motion, first on one side and then on the other. By this means the canoe is impelled at a great rate, and in a direction as straight as a line can be drawn. In sailing from Egoochshak to Samganoodha, two or three canoes kept way with the ship, though she was going at the rate of seven miles an hour.

Their fishing and hunting implements lie ready upon the canoes, under straps fixed for the purpose. They are all made, in great perfection, of wood and bone; and differ very little from those used by the Greenlanders, as they are described by Crantz. The only difference is in the point of the missile dart; which, in some we saw here, is not above an inch long; whereas Crantz says, that those of the Greenlanders are a foot and a half in length. Indeed, these darts, as well as some other of their instruments, are so curious that they deserve a particular description; but, as many of them were brought away on board the ships, this can be done at any time if thought necessary. These people are very expert in striking fish, both in the sea, and in rivers. They also make use of hooks and lines, nets and wears. The hooks are composed of bone, and the lines of sinews.

The fishes which are common to other northern seas, are found here; such as whales, grampusses, porpoises, sword-fish, halibut cod, salmon, trout, soals, flat-fish and several

other sorts of small fish. Halibut and salmon seem to be in the greatest plenty ; and on them the inhabitants of these isles subsist chiefly ; at least, they were the only sort of fish, except a few cod, which we observed to be laid up for their winter store. To the north of 60°, the sea is, in a manner, destitute of small fish of every kind ; but then whales are more numerous. Seals, and that whole tribe of sea-animals, are not so numerous as in many other seas. Nor can this be thought strange, since there is hardly any part of the coast, on either continent, nor any of the islands lying between them, that is not inhabited, and whose inhabitants hunt these animals for their food and clothing. Sea-horses are, indeed, in prodigious numbers about the ice ; and the sea-otter is, I believe, no where found but in this sea. We sometimes saw an animal, with a head like a seal's, that blew after the manner of whales ; it was larger than a seal, and its colour was white, with some dark spots. Probably this was the sea-cow, or manati.

Sea and water fowls are neither in such numbers, nor in such variety, as with us in the northern parts of the Atlantic Ocean. The few land birds that we met with are the same with those in Europe ; but there may be many others which we had no opportunity of knowing. A very beautiful bird was shot in the woods at Norton Sound ; which, I am told, is sometimes found in England, and known by the name of chatterer.

As our excursions and observations were confined wholly to the sea-coast, it is not to be expected that we could know much of the animals or vegetables of the country. There are no deer upon Oonalashka, or upon any other of the islands ; nor have they any domestic animals, not even dogs. Foxes and weasels were the only quadrupeds we saw, but they told us that they had hares also : hence it is evident that the sea and rivers supply the greatest share of food to the inhabitants. They are also obliged to the sea for all the wood made use of for building, and other necessary pur-

poses ; for not a stick grows upon any of the islands, nor upon the adjacent coast of the continent. The learned tell us, that the seeds of plants are, by various means, conveyed from one part of the world to another ; even to islands in the midst of great oceans, and far remote from any other land. How comes it to pass, that there are no trees growing on this part of the continent of America, nor any of the islands lying near it ? They are certainly as well situated for receiving seeds, by all the various ways I have heard of, as any of those coasts are that abound in wood. May not nature have denied to some soils the power of raising trees, without the assistance of art ? As to the drift wood, upon the shores of the islands, I have no doubt that it comes from America. For although there may be none on the neighbouring coast, enough may grow farther up the country, which torrents in the spring may break loose, and bring down to the sea. And not a little may be conveyed from the sandy coasts, though they lie at a greater distance.

There are a great variety of plants at Oonalashka ; and most of them were in flower the latter end of June. The principal one is the saranne, or lilly root ; which is about the size of a root of garlick, round, made up of a number of small cloves, and grains like groats. When boiled, it is somewhat like saloop ; the taste is not disagreeable, and we found means to make some good dishes with it. It does not seem to be in great plenty ; for we got none but what Ismyloff gave us. We must reckon amongst the food of the natives, some other wild roots ; the stalk of a plant resembling angelica ; and berries of several different sorts ; such as bramble-berries ; cran-berries ; hurtle-berries ; heath-berries ; a small red berry, which, in Newfoundland, is called partridge-berry ; and another brown berry, unknown to us. This has somewhat the taste of a sloe, but is unlike it in every other respect. It is very astringent, if eaten in any quantity. Brandy might be distilled from it. Captain Clerke attempted to preserve some ; but they fermented,



and became as strong as if they had been steeped in spirits. On the low ground, and in the vallies, is plenty of grass, which grows very thick and to a great length. I am of opinion, that cattle might subsist at Oonalashka all the year round, without being housed. And the soil, at many places, seemed capable of producing grain, roots, and vegetables. But, at present, the Russian traders, and the natives, seem satisfied with what nature brings forth. The people of Oonalashka bury their dead on summits of hills, and raise a little hillock over the grave. In a walk into the country, one of the natives, who attended me, pointed out several of these receptacles of the dead. There was one of them, by the side of the road leading from the harbour to the village, over which was raised a heap of stones. It was observed, that every one who passed it, added one to it. I saw in the country several stone hillocks, that seemed to have been raised by art. Many of them were apparently of great antiquity. They are remarkably cheerful and friendly amongst each other; and always behaved with great civility to us. They do not seem to be long-lived. I no where saw a person, man or woman, whom I could suppose to be sixty years of age; and but very few who appeared to be above fifty. Probably their hard way of living may be the means of shortening their days.

I have frequently had occasion to mention, from the time of our arrival in Prince William's Sound, how remarkably the natives, on this north-west side of America, resemble the Greenlanders and Esquimaux, in various particulars of person, dress, weapons, canoes, and the like. However I was much less struck with this, than with the affinity which we found subsisting between the dialects of the Greenlanders and Esquimaux, and those of Norton's Sound and Oonalashka. It must be observed, however, with regard to the words which we collected on this side of America, that too much stress is not to be laid upon their being accurately represented; for, after Mr. Anderson's death, we had few who

took much pains about such matters; and I have frequently found, that the same words written down by two or more persons, from the mouth of the same native, on being compared together, differed not a little. But still, enough is certain to warrant this judgment, that there is great reason to believe that all these nations are of the same extraction; and if so, there can be little doubt of there being a northern communication of some sort, by sea, between this west side of America and the east side, through Baffin's Bay; which communication, however, may be effectually shut up against ships, by ice, and other impediments. Such, at least, was my opinion at this time.

In the morning of Monday, the 26th of October, we put to sea from Samganoodeha Harbour. My intention was now to proceed to the Sandwich Islands, there to spend a few of the winter months, in case we should meet with the necessary refreshments, and then to direct our course to Kamtschatka, so as to endeavour to be there by the middle of May the ensuing summer. In consequence of this resolution, I gave Captain Clerke orders how to proceed, in case of separation; appointing the Sandwich Islands for the first place of rendezvous, and the harbour of Petropaulowska, in Kamtschatka, for the second.

Nothing remarkable happened during our course. At day-break, on the 26th of November, land was seen extending from south-south-east to west. We were now satisfied that the group of the Sandwich Islands had been only imperfectly discovered; as those which we had visited in our progress northward, all lie to the leeward of our present station. I bore up, and ranged along the coast to the westward. It was not long before we saw people on several parts of the shore, and some houses and plantations. The country seemed to be both well wooded and watered.

As it was of the last importance to procure a supply of provisions at these islands; and taught by experience that I could have no chance to succeed in this, if a free trade with

the natives were to be allowed ; that is, if it were left to every man's discretion to trade for what he pleased, and in the manner he pleased ; for this substantial reason, I now published an order, prohibiting all persons from trading, except such as should be appointed by me and Capt. Clerke ; and even these were enjoined to trade only for provisions and refreshments.

At noon, seeing some canoes coming off, I brought to. As soon as they got along-side, many of the people, who conducted them, came into the ship, without the least hesitation. We found them to be of the same nation with the inhabitants of the islands more to leeward, which we had already visited ; and, if we did not mistake them, they knew of our having been there. Indeed, it rather appeared too evident ; for these people had got amongst them that distemper, which I knew of no other way of reaching them, but by an intercourse with their neighbours since our leaving them.

We got from our visitors a quantity of cuttle-fish, for nails and pieces of iron. They brought very little fruit and roots ; but told us that they had plenty of them on their island, as also hogs and fowls. In the evening, the horizon being clear to the westward, we judged the westernmost land in sight to be an island, separated from that off which we now were. Having no doubt that the people would return to the ships next day, with the produce of their country, I kept plying off all night, and in the morning stood close in shore. At first only a few of the natives visited us ; but, toward noon, we had the company of a good many, who brought bread-fruit, potatoes, tarro, or eddy roots, a few plantains, and small pigs ; all of which they exchanged for nails and iron tools. Indeed we had nothing else to give them. We continued trading with them till four o'clock in the afternoon, when, having disposed of all their cargoes, and not seeming inclined to fetch more, we made sail, and stood off shore.

In the afternoon of the 30th, being off the north-east end

of the island, several canoes came off to the ships. Most of these belonged to a chief named Terreecboo, who came in one of them. He made me a present of two or three small pigs; and we got, by barter, from the other people, a little fruit. After a stay of about two hours, they all left us, except six or eight of their company, who chose to remain on board. A double sailing canoe came, soon after, to attend upon them; which we towed astern all night. In the evening, we discovered another island to windward, which the natives call Owhyhee. The name of that, off which we had been for some days, we were also told, is Mowee.

On the 1st of December, at eight in the morning, finding that we could fetch Owhyhee, I stood for it; and our visitors from Mowee not choosing to accompany us, embarked in their canoe, and went ashore. At seven in the evening, we were close up with the north side of Owhyhee, where we spent the night, standing off and on. In the morning of the 2d, we were surprised to see the summits of the mountains on Owhyhee covered with snow. They did not appear to be of any extraordinary height; and yet, in some places, the snow seemed to be of a considerable depth, and to have lain there for some time. As we drew near the shore, some of the natives came off to us. They were a little shy at first; but we soon enticed some of them on board, and at last prevailed upon them to return to the island, and bring off what we wanted. Soon after they reached the shore, we had company enough; and few coming empty-handed, we got a tolerable supply of small pigs, fruit, and roots. We continued trading with them till the evening; when we made sail, and stood off, with a view of plying to windward round the island. In the evening of the 4th, we observed an eclipse of the moon.

On the 6th, in the evening, being about five leagues farther up the coast, and near the shore, we had some traffic with the natives. But as it had furnished only a trifling

supply, I stood in again next morning, when we had a considerable number of visitors ; and we lay to, trading with them till two in the afternoon. By that time, we had procured pork, fruit, and roots, sufficient for four or five days. We then made sail, and continued to ply to windward. Having procured a quantity of sugar-cane ; and having, upon a trial, made but a few days before, found that a strong decoction of it, produced a very palatable beer, I ordered some more to be brewed, for our general use. But when the cask was now broached, not one of my crew would ever so much as taste it. As I had no motive in preparing this beverage, but to save our spirits for a colder climate, I gave myself no further trouble, either by exerting authority, or by having recourse to persuasion, to prevail upon them to drink it ; knowing that there was no danger of the scurvy, so long as we could get a plentiful supply of other vegetables. But, that I might not be disappointed in my views, I gave orders that no grog should be served in either ship. I myself, and the officers, continued to make use of the sugar-cane beer, whenever we could get materials for brewing it. A few hops, of which we had some on board, improved it much. It has the taste of new malt beer ; and I believe no one will doubt of its being very wholesome ; yet my inconsiderate crew alledged that it was injurious to their health. They had no better reason to support a resolution, which they took on our first arrival in King George's Sound, not to drink the spruce-beer made there. But, whether from consideration that it was not the first time of their being required to use that liquor, or from some other reason, they did not attempt to carry their purpose into actual execution ; and I had never heard of it until now, when they renewed their ignorant opposition to my best endeavours to serve them. Every innovation whatever, on board a ship, though ever so much to the advantage of seamen, is sure to meet with their highest disapprobation. Both portable soup, and sour kroun, were, at first, condemned as stuff unfit for human

belongings. Few commanders have introduced into their ships more novelties, as useful varieties of food and drink, than I have done ; indeed few commanders have had the same opportunities of trying such experiments, or been driven to the same necessity of trying them. It has, however, been, in a great measure, owing to various little deviations from established practice, that I have been able to preserve my people, generally speaking, from that dreadful distemper, the scurvy, which has perhaps destroyed more of our sailors, in their peaceful voyages, than have fallen by the enemy in military expeditions.

I kept at some distance from the coast, till the 13th, when I stood in again, six leagues farther to windward than we had as yet reached ; and, after having some trade with the natives who visited us, returned to sea. I should have got near the shore again on the 15th, for a supply of fruit or roots, but the wind happening to be at south-east by south, and south-south-east, I thought this a good time to stretch to the eastward, in order to get round, or, at least, to get a sight of the south-east end of the island. The wind continued at south-east by south, most part of the 16th. It was variable between south and east on the 17th ; and on the 18th, it was continually veering from one quarter to another ; blowing, sometimes, in hard squalls ; and, at other times, calm, with thunder, lightning, and rain. In the afternoon, we had the wind westerly for a few hours ; but in the evening it shifted to east by south, and we stood to the southward, close hauled, under an easy sail, as the *Discovery* was at some distance astern. At this time the south-east point of the island bore south-west by south, about five leagues distant ; and I made no doubt that I should be able to weather it. But at one o'clock, next morning, it fell calm, and we were left to the mercy of a north-easterly swell, which impelled us fast towards the land ; so that, long before day break, we saw lights upon



the shore, which was not more than a league distant. The night was dark, with thunder, lightning, and rain.

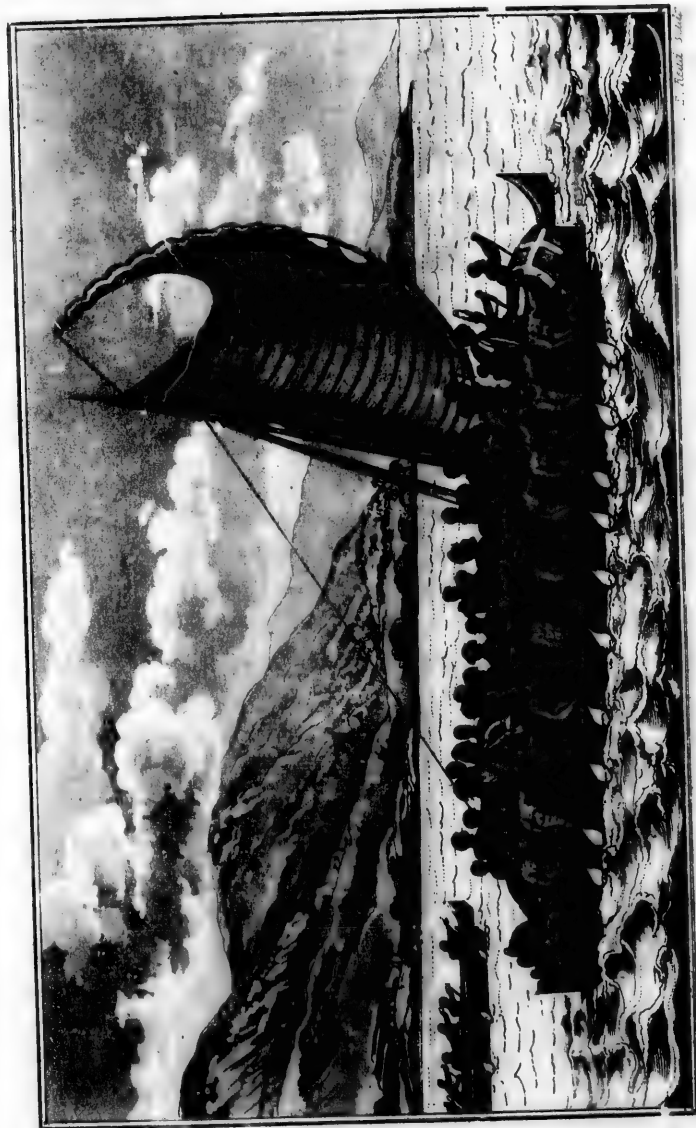
At three o'clock, the calm was succeeded by a breeze from the south-east by east, blowing in squalls, with rain. We stood to the north-east, thinking it the best tack to clear the coast; but, if it had been day-light, we should have chosen the other. At day-break, the coast was seen extending from north by west, to south-west by west; a dreadful surf breaking upon the shore, which was not more than half a league distant. It was evident that we had been in the most imminent danger. Nor were we yet in safety, the wind veering more easterly; so that, for some time, we did but just keep our distance from the coast. What made our situation more alarming, was the leach-rope of the main-top sail giving way; which was the occasion of the sail's being rent in two; and the two top-gallant sails gave way in the same manner, though not half worn out. By taking a favourable opportunity, we soon got others to the yards; and then we left the land astern. The *Discovery*, by being at some distance to the north, was never near the land, nor did we see her till eight o'clock.

As soon as day-light appeared, the natives ashore displayed a white flag, which we conceived to be a signal of peace and friendship. Some of them ventured out after us, but the wind freshening, and it not being safe to wait, they were soon left astern. In the afternoon, after making an attempt to weather the eastern extreme, which failed, I gave it up, and run down to the *Discovery*. Indeed, it was of no consequence to get round the island; for we had seen its extent to the south-east, which was the thing I aimed at; and, according to the information which we had got from the natives, there is no other island to the windward of this. However, as we were so near the south-east end of it, and as the least shift of wind, in our favour, would serve to carry us round, I did not wholly give up the idea of weathering it; and therefore continued to ply.

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*Terrechoo, King of O Whyhee, an Island in the North Pacific Ocean, bringing Present to Capt. Cook.*

*Published by subscription to the "Illustrated London News" 1847*



On the 20th, in the afternoon, some of the natives came off in their canoes, bringing with them a few pigs and plantains. The latter were very acceptable, having had no vegetables for some days : but the supply we now received was so inconsiderable, being barely sufficient for one day, that I stood in again the next morning, till within three or four miles of the land, where we were met by a number of canoes, laden with provisions. We brought to, and continued trading with the people in them, till four in the afternoon ; when, having got a pretty good supply, we made sail, and stretched off to the northward.

I had never met with a behaviour so free from reserve and suspicion, in my intercourse with any tribes of savages, as we experienced in the people of this island. It was very common for them to send up into the ship the several articles they brought off for barter ; afterward, they would come in themselves, and make their bargains on the quarter-deck. The people of Otaheite, even after our repeated visits, do not care to put so much confidence in us. I infer from this, that those of Owhyhee must be more faithful in their dealings with one another, than the inhabitants of Otaheite are ; for, if little faith were observed amongst themselves, they would not be so ready to trust strangers. It is also to be observed, to their honour, that they had never once attempted to cheat us in exchanges, nor to commit a theft. They understand trading as well as most people ; and seemed to comprehend clearly the reason of our plying upon the coast ; for, though they brought off provisions in great plenty, particularly pigs, yet they kept up their price, and rather than dispose of them for less than they thought they were worth, would take them on shore again.

On the 22nd, at four in the afternoon, after purchasing every thing that the natives had brought off, which was full as much as we had occasion for, we made sail, and stretched to the north, with the wind at east-north-east. At midnight, we tacked, and stood to the south-east. Upon a supposi-

tion that the *Discovery* would see us tack, the signal was omitted ; but she did not see us, as we afterwards found, and continued standing to the north, for at day-light next morning she was not in sight. At this time the weather being hazy, we could not see far, so that it was possible the *Discovery* might be following us ; and being past the north-east part of the island, I was tempted to stand on, till, by the wind veering to north-east, we could not weather the land upon the other tack ; consequently we could not stand to the north, to join or look for the *Discovery*. At six in the evening, we had succeeded in getting to windward of the island, which we had aimed at with so much perseverance. The *Discovery*, however, was not yet to be seen ; but the wind, as we had it, being very favourable for her to follow us, I concluded that it would not be long before she joined us ; I therefore kept cruising off this south-east point of the island, till I was satisfied that Captain Clerke could not join me here. I now conjectured, that he had not been able to weather the north-east part of the island, and had gone to leeward in order to meet me that way.

As I generally kept from five to ten leagues from the land, no canoes, except one, came off to us till the 28th ; when we were visited by a dozen or fourteen. The people who conducted them, brought, as usual, the produce of the island. I was very sorry that they had taken the trouble to come so far ; for we could not trade with them, our old stock not being as yet consumed ; and we had found, by late experience, that the hogs could not be kept alive, nor the roots preserved from putrefaction, many days. However I intended not to leave this part of the island before I got a supply, as it would not be easy to return to it again, in case it should be found necessary.

We began to be in want on the 30th ; and I would have stood in near the shore, but was prevented by a calm ; but a breeze springing up, at midnight, from south and south-west, we were enabled to stand in for land at day break. At ten

o'clock in the morning, we were met by the islanders with fruit and roots: but, in all the canoes, were only three small pigs. Our not having bought those which had been lately brought off, may be supposed to be the reason of this very scanty supply. We brought to for the purposes of trade, but soon after our marketing was interrupted by a very hard rain; and besides we were rather too far from the shore. Nor durst I go nearer; for I could not depend upon the wind's remaining where it was for a moment, the swell also being high, and setting obliquely upon the shore, against which it broke in a frightful surf. In the evening the weather mended, the night was clear, and it was spent in making short boards. Before day-break, the atmosphere was again loaded with heavy clouds; and the new year was ushered in with very hard rain, which continued, at intervals, till past ten o'clock. Being about five miles from land, several canoes arrived with fruit and roots; and, at last, some hogs were brought off. We lay to, trading with them till three o'clock in the afternoon; when, having a tolerable supply, we made sail with a view of proceeding to the north-west, or lee-side of the island, to look for the Discovery. It was necessary, however, the wind being at south, to stretch first to the eastward till midnight, when the wind came more favourable and we went upon the other tack. For several days past both wind and weather had been exceedingly unsettled, and there fell a great deal of rain. The three following days were spent in running down the south-east side of the island; for, during the nights we stood off and on, and part of each day was employed in lying-to, in order to furnish an opportunity to the natives of trading with us. They sometimes came on board while we were five leagues from the shore; but, whether from a fear of losing their goods in the sea, or from the uncertainty of a market, they never brought much with them. The principal article procured was salt, which was extremely good.

On the 5th of January, 1779, in the morning, we passed



the south point of the island, which lies in the latitude of  $18^{\circ} 54'$  ; and beyond it we found the coast to trend north,  $60^{\circ}$  west. On this point stands a pretty large village, the inhabitants of which thronged off to the ship with hogs and women. It was not possible to keep the latter from coming on board ; and no women, I ever met with, were less reserved. As I had now got a quantity of salt, I purchased no hogs but such as were fit for salting, refusing all that were under size ; however, we could seldom get any above fifty or sixty pounds weight. It was happy for us, that we had still some vegetables on board, for we now received few such productions ; indeed, this part of the country, from its appearance, did not seem capable of affording them. Marks of its having been laid waste by the explosion of a volcano, every where presented themselves ; and though we had, as yet, seen nothing like one upon the island, the devastation that it had made in this neighbourhood was visible to the naked eye. This part of the coast is sheltered from the reigning winds ; but we could find no bottom to anchor upon, a line of an hundred and sixty fathoms not reaching it, within the distance of half a mile from the shore. The islanders having all left us, towards the evening, we ran a few miles down the coast, and then spent the night standing off and on.

The next morning, the natives visited us again, bringing with them the same articles of commerce as before. Being now near the shore, I sent Mr. Bligh, the Master, in a boat, to sound the coast, with orders to land, and to look for fresh water. Upon his return, he reported that, at two cables' length from the shore, he had found no soundings with a line of one hundred and sixty fathoms ; that, when he landed, he found no stream or spring, but only rain-water, deposited in holes upon the rocks, and even that was brackish from the spray of the sea, and that the surface of the country was entirely composed of slags and ashes, with a few plants interspersed. Between ten and eleven, we saw with

pleasure the *Discovery* coming round the south point of the island; and, at one in the afternoon, she joined us. Captain Clerke coming on board, informed me, that he had cruised four or five days where we were separated, and then plied round the east side of the island; but that, meeting with unfavourable winds, he had been carried to some distance from the coast. He had one of the islanders on board, all this time, who had remained there from choice, and had refused to quit the ship, though opportunities had offered.

Having spent the night standing off and on, we stood in again the next morning, and when we were about a league from the shore, many of the natives visited us. At day-break on the 8th, we found that the currents, during the night, which we spent in plying, had carried us back considerably to windward; so that we were now off the south-west point of the island. There we brought to, in order to give the natives an opportunity of trading with us. We spent the night as usual, standing off and on. It happened, that four men and ten women, who had come on board the preceding day, still remained with us. As I did not like the company of the latter, I stood in shore towards noon, principally with a view to get them out of the ship; and some canoes coming off, I took that opportunity of sending away our guests.

At four in the morning of the 11th, the wind having fixed at west, I stood in for the land, in order to get some refreshments. As we drew near the shore, the natives began to come off. We lay to, or stood on and off, trading with them all the day; but got a very scanty supply at last. Many canoes visited us, whose people had not a single thing to barter; which convinced us, that this part of the island must be very poor, and that we had already got all they could spare. At eight o'clock next morning, having got a small breeze at south-south-east, we steered to the north-north-west, in for the land. Soon after a few canoes came along-side, with some hogs, but without any vegetables,

which articles we most wanted. Next morning, being still off the south-west point of the island, some canoes came off, but they brought nothing that we were in want of. We had now neither fruit nor roots, and were under a necessity of making use of some of our sea-provisions. At length, some canoes from the northward brought us a small supply of hogs and roots.

At day-break on the 16th, seeing the appearance of a bay, I sent Mr. Bligh, with a boat from each ship, to examine it, being at this time three leagues off. Canoes now began to arrive from all parts; so that before ten o'clock, there were not fewer than a thousand about the two ships, most of them crowded with people, and well laden with hogs and other productions of the island. We had the most satisfying proof of their friendly intentions; for we did not see a single person who had with him a weapon of any sort. Trade and curiosity alone had brought them off. Among such numbers as we had, at times, on board, it is no wonder that some should betray a thievish disposition. One of our visitors took out of the ship a boat's rudder; he was discovered; but too late to recover it. I thought this a good opportunity to shew these people the use of fire-arms; and two or three musquets, and as many four-pounders, were fired over the canoe which carried off the rudder. As it was not intended that any of the shot should take effect, the surrounding multitude of natives seemed rather more surprised than frightened. In the evening Mr. Bligh returned, and reported, that he had found a bay in which was good anchorage, and fresh water in a situation tolerably easy to be come at. Into this bay I resolved to carry the ships, there to refit, and supply ourselves with every refreshment that the place could afford. As night approached, the greater part of our visitors retired to the shore; but numbers of them requested our permission to sleep on board. Curiosity was not the only motive, at least with some; for the next morning several things were missing, which determined me not to enter-

tain so many another night. At eleven o'clock in the forenoon, we anchored in a bay (which is called by the natives Karakakooa,) in thirteen fathoms water, over a sandy bottom, and about a quarter of a mile from the north-east shore. The ships continued to be much crowded with natives, and were surrounded by a multitude of canoes. I had no where, in the course of my voyages, seen so numerous a body of people assembled at one place; for, besides those who had come off to us in canoes, all the shore of the bay was covered with spectators, and many hundreds were swimming round the ships like shoals of fish. We could not but be struck with the singularity of this scene; and perhaps there were few on board who now lamented our having failed in our endeavours to find a northern passage homeward last summer. To this disappointment we owed our having it in our power to revisit the Sandwich Islands, and to enrich our voyage with a discovery which, though the last, seemed, in many respects, to be the most important that had hitherto been made by Europeans throughout the extent of the Pacific Ocean.

 *Here Captain Cook's journal ends. The remaining transactions of the Voyage are related by Captain King*

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Karakakooa Bay is situated on the west side of the island of Owhyhee, in a district called Akons. It is about a mile in depth, and bounded by two low points of land, at the distance of half a league, and bearing south-south-east and north-north-west from each other. On the north point, which is flat and barren, stands the village of Kowrowa; and in the bottom of the bay, near a grove of tall cocoa-nut trees, there is another village of a more considerable size, called Kakooa: between them runs a high rocky cliff, inaccessible from the sea shore. On the south side, the coast, for about a mile inland, has a rugged appearance; beyond

which the country rises with a gradual ascent, and is over-spread with cultivated enclosures and groves of cocoa-nut trees, where the habitations of the natives are scattered in great numbers. The shore, all round the bay, is covered with a black coral rock, which makes the landing very dangerous in rough weather ; except at the village of Kakooa, where there is a fine sandy beach, with a morai, or burying place, at one extremity, and a small well of fresh water at the other. This bay appearing to Capt. Cook a proper place to refit the ships, and lay in an additional supply of water and provisions, we moored on the north side, about a quarter of a mile from the shore, Kowrowa bearing west-north-west.

As soon as the inhabitants perceived our intention of anchoring in the bay, they came off from the shore in astonishing numbers, and expressed their joy by singing and shouting, and exhibiting a variety of wild and extravagant gestures. The sides, the decks and rigging of both ships were soon completely covered with them ; and a multitude of women and boys, who had not been able to get canoes, came swimming round us in shoals ; many of whom not finding room on board, remained the whole day playing in the water.

Among the chiefs who came on board the Resolution, was a young man, called Pareea, whom we soon perceived to be a person of great authority. On presenting himself to Capt. Cook, he told him, that he was jakanee to the king of the island, who was at that time engaged on a military expedition at Mowee, and was expected to return within three or four days. A few presents from Capt. Cook attached him entirely to our interests, and he became exceedingly useful to us in the management of his countrymen, as we had soon occasion to experience ; for we had not been long at anchor, when it was observed that the Discovery had such a number of people hanging on one side, as occasioned her to heel considerably ; and that the men were unable to

keep off the crowds which continued pressing into her. Capt. Cook, being apprehensive that she might suffer some injury, pointed out the danger to Pareca, who immediately went to their assistance, cleared the ship of its encumbrances, and drove away the canoes that surrounded her. The authority of the chiefs over the inferior people appeared from this incident to be of the most despotic kind. A similar instance of it happened the same day on board the *Resolution*, where the crowd being so great, as to impede the necessary business of the ship, we were obliged to have recourse to the assistance of Kaneena, another of their chiefs, who had likewise attached himself to Capt. Cook. The inconvenience we laboured under being made known, he immediately ordered his countrymen to quit the vessel; and we were not a little surprized to see them jump overboard, without a moment's hesitation; all except one man, who loitering behind and shewing some unwillingness to obey, Kaneena took him up in his arms and threw him into the sea. Both these chiefs were men of strong and well-proportioned bodies, and of countenances remarkably pleasing. Kaneena especially, whose portrait was drawn by Mr. Webber, was one of the finest men I ever saw. He was about six feet high, had regular and expressive features, with lively, dark eyes; his carriage was easy, firm, and graceful.

It has been already mentioned, that during our long cruise near this island, the inhabitants had always behaved with fairness and honesty in their dealings, and had not shewn the slightest propensity to theft; which appeared to us the more extraordinary, because those with whom we had hitherto held any intercourse, were of the lowest rank, either servants or fishermen. We now found the case exceedingly altered; the immense crowd of islanders, which blocked up every part of the ships, not only afforded frequent opportunity of pilfering without risk of discovery, but our inferiority in number held forth a prospect of escaping with impunity in case of detection. Another circumstance, to



which we attributed this alteration in their behaviour, was the presence and encouragement of their chiefs; for, generally tracing the booty into the possession of some men of consequence, we had the strongest reason to suspect that these depredations were committed at their instigation.

Soon after the Resolution had got into her station, our two friends, Pareea and Kaneena, brought on board a third chief, named Koah, who, we were told, was a priest, and had been in his youth a distinguished warrior. He was a little old man, of an emaciated figure; his eyes exceedingly sore and red, and his body covered with a white leprous scurf, the effects of an immoderate use of the ava. Being led into the cabin, he approached Capt. Cook with great veneration, and threw over his shoulders a piece of red cloth which he had brought along with him. Then stepping a few paces back, he made an offering of a small pig, which he held in his hand, whilst he pronounced a discourse that lasted for a considerable time. This ceremony was frequently repeated during our stay at Owhyhee, and appeared to us, from many circumstances, to be a sort of religious adoration. Their idols we found always arrayed with red cloth, in the same manner as was done to Capt. Cook; and a small pig was their usual offering to the Eatooas. Their speeches, or prayers, were uttered too with a readiness and volubility that indicated them to be according to some formula. When this ceremony was over, Koah dined with Capt. Cook, eating plentifully of what was set before him; but, like the rest of the inhabitants of the islands in these seas, could scarcely be prevailed on to taste a second time our wine or spirits. In the evening, Capt. Cook, attended by Mr. Bayly and myself, accompanied him on shore. We landed at the beach, and were received by four men, who carried wands tipped with dog's hair, and marched before us, pronouncing with a loud voice a short sentence, in which we could only distinguish the word Orono. Capt. Cook generally went by this name amongst the natives of Owhyhee;

but we could never learn its precise meaning. Sometimes they applied it to an invisible being, who, they said, lived in the heavens. We also found that it was a title belonging to a personage of great rank and power in the island, who resembles pretty much the Delai Lama of the Tartars, and the ecclesiastical emperor of Japan. The crowd, which had been collected on the shore, retired at our approach; and not a person was to be seen, except a few lying prostrate on the ground, near the huts of the adjoining village.

Before I proceed to relate the adoration that was paid to Capt. Cook, and the peculiar ceremonies with which he was received on this fatal island, it will be necessary to describe the morai, situated, as I have already mentioned, at the south side of the beach at Kakooa. It was a square solid pile of stones, about forty yards long, twenty broad, and fourteen in height. The top was flat, and well paved, and surrounded by a wooden rail, on which were fixed the skulls of the captives sacrificed on the death of their chiefs. In the centre of the area stood a ruinous old building of wood, connected with the rail, on each side, by a stone wall, which divided the whole space into two parts. On the side next the country were five poles, upwards of twenty feet high, supporting an irregular kind of scaffold; on the opposite side, toward the sea, stood two small houses, with a covered communication. We were conducted by Koah to the top of this pile by an easy ascent, leading from the beach to the north-west corner of the area. At the entrance, we saw two large wooden images, with features violently distorted, and a long piece of carved wood, of a conical form inverted, rising from the top of their heads; the rest was without form, and wrapped round with red cloth. We were here met by a tall young man, with a long beard, who presented Capt. Cook to the images, and after chanting a kind of hymn, in which he was joined by Koah, they led us to that end of the morai where the five poles were fixed. At the foot of them were twelve images ranged in a semicircular

form, and before the middle figure stood a high stand or table, exactly resembling the Whatta of Otaheite, on which lay a putrid hog, and under it pieces of sugar-cane, coconuts, bread-fruit, plantains, and sweet potatoes. Koah having placed the captain under this stand, took down the hog, and held it towards him; and after having a second time addressed him in a long speech, pronounced with much vehemence and rapidity, he let it fall on the ground, and led him to the scaffolding, which they began to climb together, not without great risk of falling. At this time we saw, coming in solemn procession, at the entrance of the top of the morai, ten men carrying a live hog, and a large piece of red cloth. Being advanced a few paces, they stopped, and prostrated themselves; and Kaireekkea, the young man above-mentioned, went to them, and received the cloth, carried it to Koah, who wrapped it round the captain, and afterwards offered him the hog, which was brought by Kaireekkea with the same ceremony.

Whilst Capt. Cook was aloft, in this awkward situation, swathed round with red cloth, and with difficulty keeping his hold amongst the pieces of rotten scaffolding, Kaireekkea and Koah began their office, chanting sometimes in concert, and sometimes alternately. This lasted a considerable time; at length Koah let the hog drop, when he and the captain descended together: He then led him to the images before mentioned, and having said something to each in a sneering tone, snapping his fingers at them as he passed, he brought him to that in the centre, which, from its being covered with red cloth, appeared to be in greater estimation than the rest. Before this figure he prostrated himself, and kissed it, desiring Capt. Cook to do the same, who suffered himself to be directed by Koah throughout the whole of this ceremony. We were now led back into the other division of the morai, where there was a space, ten or twelve feet square, sunk about three feet below the level of the area. Into this we descended, and Capt. Cook was seated between

two wooden idols, Koah supporting one of his arms, whilst I was desired to support the other. At this time arrived a second procession of natives, carrying a baked hog, and a pudding, some bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and other vegetables. When they approached us, Kaireekesa put himself at their head, and presenting the pig to Capt. Cook in the usual manner, began the same kind of chant as before, his companions making regular responses. We observed, that, after every response, their parts became gradually shorter, till, toward the close, Kaireekesa's consisted of only two or three words, which the rest answered by the word *Orono*.

When this offering was concluded, which lasted a quarter of an hour, the natives sat down fronting us, and began to cut up the baked hog, to peel the vegetables, and break the cocoa-nuts; whilst others employed themselves in brewing the *ava*; which is done by chewing it, in the same manner as at the Friendly Islands. Kaireekesa then took part of the kernel of a cocoa-nut, which he chewed, and, wrapping it in a piece of cloth, rubbed with it the captain's face, head, hands, arms, and shoulders. The *ava* was then handed round, and after we had tasted it, Koah and Pareea began to pull the flesh of the hog in pieces, and to put it into our mouths. I had no great objection to being fed by Pareea, who was very cleanly in his person; but Capt. Cook, who was served by Koah, recollecting the putrid hog, could not swallow a morsel; and his reluctance, as may be supposed, was not diminished, when the old man, according to his own mode of civility, had chewed it for him. When this last ceremony was finished, which Capt. Cook put an end to as soon as he decently could, we quitted the morai, after distributing amongst the people some pieces of iron and other trifles, with which they seemed highly gratified. The men with wands conducted us to the boats, repeating the same words as before. The people again retired, and the few that remained, prostrated themselves

as we passed along the shore. We immediately went on board, our minds full of what we had seen, and extremely well satisfied with the good disposition of our new friends. The meaning of the various ceremonies with which we had been received, and which, on account of their novelty and singularity, have been related at length, can only be the subject of conjectures, and those uncertain and partial: they were, however, without doubt, expressive of high respect on the part of the natives; and, as far as related to the person of Captain Cook, they seemed approaching to adoration.

The next morning, I went on shore with a guard of eight marines, including the corporal and lieutenant, having orders to erect the observatory in such a situation as might best enable me to superintend and protect the waterers, and the other working parties that were to be on shore. As we were viewing a spot conveniently situated for this purpose, in the middle of the village, Pareea, who was always ready to shew his power and his good-will, offered to pull down some houses that would have obstructed our observations; however we thought it proper to decline this offer, and fixed on a field of sweet potatoes adjoining to the morai, which was readily granted us; and the priests, to prevent the intrusion of the natives, immediately consecrated the place, by fixing their wands round the wall by which it was enclosed. This sort of religious interdiction they call taboo; a word we heard often repeated, during our stay amongst these islanders, and found to be of very powerful and extensive operation, and it procured us even more privacy than we desired. No canoes ever presumed to land near us; the natives sat on the wall, but none offered to come within the tabooed space, till he had obtained our permission. But though the men, at our request, would come across the field with provisions, yet not all our endeavours could prevail on the women to approach us. Presents were tried, but without effect; Pareea and Koah were tempted to bring

them, but in vain ; we were invariably answered, that the Eatooa and Terreeoboo (which was the name of their king) would kill them. This circumstance afforded no small matter of amusement to our friends on board, where the crowds of people, and particularly of women, that continued to flock thither, obliged them almost every hour to clear the vessel, in order to have room to do the necessary duties of the ship. On these occasions, two or three hundred women were frequently made to jump into the water at once, where they continued swimming and playing about, till they could again procure admittance.

From the 19th to the 24th, when Pareea and Koah left us to attend Terreeoboo, who had landed on some other part of the island, nothing very material happened on board. The caulkers were set to work on the sides of the ships, and the rigging was carefully overhauled and repaired. The salting of hogs for sea-store was also a constant, and one of the principal objects of Capt. Cook's attention. As the success we met with in this experiment, during our present voyage, was much more complete than it had been in any former attempt of the same kind, it may not be improper to give an account of the detail of the operation. It has generally been thought impracticable to cure the flesh of animals by salting, in tropical climates ; the progress of putrefaction being so rapid, as not to allow time for the salt to take (as they express it) before the meat gets a taint, which prevents the effect of the pickle. We do not find that experiments relative to this subject have been made by the navigators of any nation before Capt. Cook. In the first trials, which were made in 1774, during his second voyage to the Pacific Ocean, the success he met with, though very imperfect, was yet sufficient to convince him of the error of the received opinion. As the voyage, in which he was now engaged, was likely to be protracted a year beyond the time for which the ships had been victualled, he was under the necessity of providing, by some such means, for



the subsistence of the crews, or of relinquishing the further prosecution of his discoveries. He therefore lost no opportunity of renewing his attempts, and the event answered his most sanguine expectations.

The hogs which we made use of for this purpose, were of various sizes, weighing from four to twelve stone of 14 lbs. The time of slaughtering was always in the afternoon; and as soon as the hair was scalded off, and the entrails removed, the hog was divided into pieces of four or eight lbs each, and the bones of the legs and chine taken out; and, in the larger sort, the ribs also. Every piece then being carefully wiped and examined, and the veins cleared of the coagulated blood, they were handed to the salters, whilst the flesh remained still warm. After they had been well rubbed with salt, they were placed in a heap, on a stage raised in the open air, covered with planks, and pressed with the heaviest weights we could lay on them. In this situation they remained till the next evening, when they were again well wiped and examined, and the suspicious parts taken away. They were then put into a tub of strong pickle, where they were always looked over once or twice a day, and if any piece had not taken the salt, which was readily discovered by the smell of the pickle, they were immediately taken out, re-examined, and the sound pieces put to fresh pickle; this, however, after the precautions before used, seldom happened. After six days, they were taken out, examined for the last time, and being again slightly pressed, they were packed in barrels, with a thin layer of salt between them. I brought home with me some barrels of this pork, which was pickled at Owhyhee in January 1779, and was tasted by several persons in England about Christmas 1780, and found perfectly sound and wholesome. Since these papers were prepared for the press, I have been informed by Mr. Vancouver, who was one of my midshipmen in the *Discovery*, and was afterwards appointed lieutenant of the *Martin* sloop of war, that he tried the method here recommended, both with English

and Spanish pork, during a cruize on the Spanish Main, in the year 1792, and succeeded to the utmost of his expectations. He also made the experiment at Jamaica with the beef served by the victualling office to the ships, but not with the same success, which he attributes to the want of the necessary precautions in killing and handling the beasts; to their being hung up and opened before they had sufficient time to bleed, by which means the blood-vessels were exposed to the air, and the blood condensed before it had time to empty itself; and to their being hard driven and bruised. He adds, that having himself attended to the killing of an ox, which was carefully taken on board the *Martin*, he salted a part of it, which, at the end of the week, was found to have taken the salt completely, and he has no doubt would have kept for any length of time; but the experiment was not tried.

I shall now return to our transactions on shore at the observatory, where we had not been long settled before we discovered, in our neighbourhood, the habitations of a society of priests, whose regular attendance at the morai had excited our curiosity. Their huts stood round a pond of water, and were surrounded by a grove of cocoa-nut trees, which separated them from the beach and the rest of the village, and gave the place an air of religious retirement. On my acquainting Capt. Cook with these circumstances, he resolved to pay them a visit; and, as he expected to be received in the same manner as before, he brought Mr. Webber with him to make a drawing of the ceremony. On his arrival at the beach, he was conducted to a sacred building called *Harre-no-Orono*, or the house of Orono, and seated before the entrance, at the foot of a wooden idol, of the same kind with those in the morai. I was here again made to support one of his arms; and, after wrapping him in red cloth, *Kaireekkea*, accompanied by twelve priests, made an offering of a pig with the usual solemnities. The pig was then strangled, and a fire being kindled, it was thrown into

the embers, and after the hair was singed off, it was again presented, with a repetition of the chanting, in the manner before described. The dead pig was then held for a short time under the captain's nose ; after which it was laid, with a cocoa-nut, at his feet, and the performers sat down. The ava was then brewed, and handed round ; a fat hog, ready dressed, was brought in ; and we were fed as before.

During the rest of the time we remained in the bay, whenever Capt. Cook came on shore, he was attended by one of these priests, who went before him, giving notice that the Orono had landed, and ordering the people to prostrate themselves. The same person also constantly accompanied him on the water, standing in the bow of the boat, with a wand in his hand, and giving notice of his approach to the natives, who were in canoes, on which they immediately left off paddling, and lay down on their faces till he had passed. Whenever he stopped at the observatory, Kaireekkea and his brethren immediately made their appearance with hogs, cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, &c. and presented them with the usual solemnities. It was on these occasions that some of the inferior chiefs frequently requested to be permitted to make an offering to the Orono ; when this was granted, they presented the hog themselves, generally with evident marks of fear in their countenances, whilst Kaireekkea and the priests chanted their accustomed hymns.

The civilities of this society were not, however, confined to mere ceremony and parade. Our party on shore received from them, every day, a constant supply of hogs and vegetables, more than sufficient for our subsistence ; and several canoes, loaded with provisions, were sent to the ships with the same punctuality. No return was ever demanded, or ever hinted at in the most distant manner. Their presents were made with a regularity, more like the discharge of a religious duty, than the effect of mere liberality ; and when we inquired at whose charge all this munificence was displayed, we were told, it was at the expence of a great man called Kaoo, the

chief of the priests, and grandfather to Kaireekkeen, who was at that time absent attending the king of the island.

As every thing relating to the character and behaviour of this people must be interesting to the reader, on account of the tragedy that was afterwards acted here, it will be proper to acquaint him, that we had not always so much reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the warrior chiefs, or Earees, as with that of the priests. In all our dealings with the former, we found them sufficiently attentive to their own interests; and besides their habit of stealing, which may admit of some excuse, from the universality of the practice amongst the islanders of these seas, they made use of other artifices equally dishonourable. I shall only mention one instance, in which we discovered, with regret, our friend Koah to be a party principally concerned. As the chiefs, who brought us presents of hogs, were always sent back handsomely rewarded, we had generally a greater supply than we could make use of. On these occasions, Koah, who never failed in his attendance on us, used to beg such as we did not want, and they were always given to him. It one day happened, that a pig was presented us by a man whom Koah himself introduced as a chief, who was desirous of paying his respects, and we recollected the pig to be the same that had been given to Koah just before. This leading us to suspect some trick, we found, on further inquiry, the pretended chief to be an ordinary person; and, on connecting this with other circumstances, we had reason to suspect that it was not the first time we had been the dupes of the like imposition.

Things continued in this state till the 24th, when we were a good deal surprized to find that no canoes were suffered to put off from the shore, and that the natives kept close to their houses. After several hours suspense, we learned that the bay was tabooed, and all intercourse with us interdicted, on account of the arrival of Terreeoboo. As we had not foreseen an accident of this sort, the crews of both ships were obliged to pass the day without their usual supply of vege-

tables. The next morning, therefore, they endeavoured, both by threats and promises, to induce the natives to come along-side; and as some of them were at last venturing to come off, a chief was observed attempting to drive them away. A musket was immediately fired over his head, to make him desist, which had the desired effect, and refreshments were soon after purchased as usual. In the afternoon, Terreeoboo arrived, and visited the ships in a private manner, attended only by one canoe, in which were his wife and children. He staid on board till near ten o'clock, when he returned to the village of Kowrowa.

The next day, about noon, the King, in a large canoe, attended by two others, set out from the village, and paddled toward the ships in great state. Their appearance was grand and magnificent. In the first canoe was Terreeoboo and his chiefs, dressed in their rich feathered cloaks and helmets, and armed with long spears and daggers; in the second, came the venerable Kaco, the chief of the priests, and his brethren, with their idols displayed on red cloth. These idols were busts of a gigantic size, made of wicker-work, and curiously covered with small feathers of various colours, wrought in the same manner with their cloaks. Their eyes were made of large pearl oysters, with a black nut fixed in the centre; their mouths were set with a double row of the fangs of dogs, and, together with the rest of their features, were strangely distorted. The third canoe was filled with hogs and various sorts of vegetables. As they went along, the priests in the centre canoe sung their hymns with great solemnity; and, after paddling round the ships, instead of going on board, as was expected, they made toward the shore at the beach where we were stationed. As soon as I saw them approaching, I ordered out our little guard to receive the king; and Capt. Cook, perceiving that he was going on shore, followed him, and arrived nearly at the same time. We conducted them into the tent, where they had scarcely been seated, when the king rose up, and in a

very graceful manner threw over the captain's shoulders the cloak he himself wore, put a feathered helmet upon his head, and a curious fan into his hand. He also spread at his feet five or six other cloaks, all exceedingly beautiful, and of the greatest value. His attendants then brought four very large hogs, with sugar-canes, cocoa-nuts, and bread-fruit; and this part of the ceremony was concluded by the king's exchanging names with Capt Cook, which, amongst all the islanders of the Pacific Ocean, is esteemed the strongest pledge of friendship. A procession of priests, with a venerable old personage at their head, now appeared, followed by a long train of men leading large hogs, and others with plantains, sweet potatoes, &c. By the looks and gestures of Kaireekkea, I immediately knew the old man to be the chief of the priests before mentioned, and on whose bounty we had so long subsisted. He had a piece of red cloth in his hands, which he wrapped round Capt Cook's shoulders, and afterwards presented him with a small pig in the usual form. A seat was then made for him, next to the king, after which Kaireekkea and his followers began their ceremonies, Kaoo and the chiefs joining in the responses.

I was surprized to see, in the person of this king, the same infirm and emaciated old man, that came on board the *Resolution* when we were off the north-east side of the island of Mowee; and we soon discovered amongst his attendants most of the persons who at that time had remained with us all night. Of this number were the two younger sons of the king, the eldest of whom was sixteen years of age, and his nephew Maiha-Maiha, whom at first we had some difficulty in recollecting, his hair being plastered over with a dirty brown paste and powder, which was no mean heightening to the most savage face I ever beheld. As soon as the formalities of the meeting were over, Capt. Cook carried Terreeoboo, and as many chiefs as the pinnace could hold, on board the *Resolution*. They were received with every mark of respect that could be shewn them; and Capt. Cook, in



return for the feathered cloak, put a linen shirt on the king, and girt his own hanger round him. The ancient Kahoo, and about half a dozen old chiefs, remained on shore, and took up their abode at the priests' houses. During all this time, not a canoe was seen in the bay, and the natives either kept within their huts, or lay prostrate on the ground. Before the king left the Resolution, Capt. Cook obtained leave for the natives to come and trade with the ships as usual; but the women, for what reason we could not learn, still continued under the effects of the taboo; that is, were forbidden to stir from home, or to have any communication with us.

The quiet and inoffensive behaviour of the natives having taken away every apprehension of danger, we did not hesitate to trust ourselves amongst them at all times, and in all situations. The officers of both ships went daily up the country, in small parties, or even singly, and frequently remained out the whole night. It would be endless to recount all the instances of kindness and civility which we received upon those occasions; wherever we went, the people flocked about us, eager to offer any assistance in their power, and highly gratified if their services were accepted. Various little arts were practised to attract our notice, or to delay our departure. The boys and girls ran before, as we walked through the villages, and stopped us at every opening, where there was room to form a group for dancing. At one time, we were invited to accept a draught of coconut milk, or some other refreshment, under the shade of their huts; at another, we were seated within a circle of young women, who exerted their skill and agility to amuse us with songs and dances.

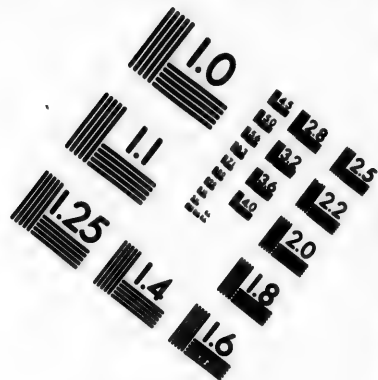
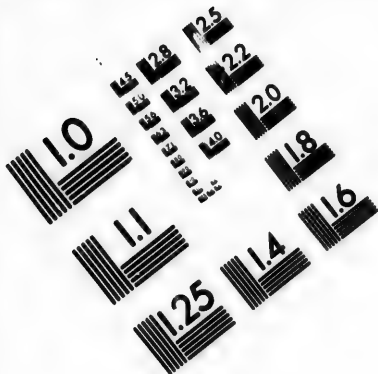
The satisfaction we derived from their gentleness and hospitality was, however, frequently interrupted by the propensity to stealing, which they have in common with all the other islanders of these seas. This circumstance was the more distressing, as it sometimes obliged us to have recourse

to acts of severity, which we would willingly have avoided, if the necessity of the case had not absolutely called for them. Some of their most expert swimmers were one day discovered under the ships, drawing out the filling nails of the sheathing, which they performed very dexterously by means of a short stick with a flint stone fixed in the end of it. To put a stop to this practice, which endangered the very existence of the vessels, we at first fired small shot at the offenders; but they easily got out of our reach by diving under the ship's bottom. It was therefore found necessary to make an example, by flogging one of them on board the *Discovery*.

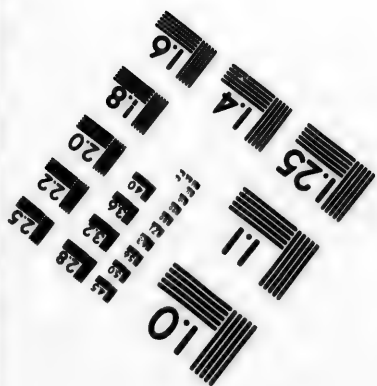
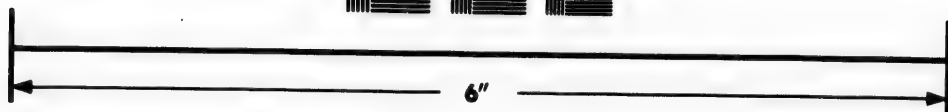
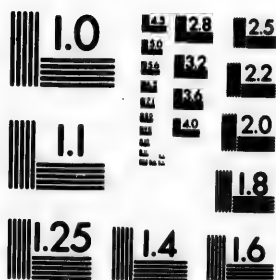
About this time, a large party of gentlemen, from both ships, set out on an excursion into the interior part of the country, with a view of examining its natural productions. An account of this journey will be given in a subsequent part of our narrative. It is, therefore, only necessary at present to observe, that it afforded Kaoo a fresh opportunity of shewing his attention and generosity; for as soon as he was informed of their departure, he sent a large supply of provisions after them, together with orders, that the inhabitants of the country through which they were to pass, should give them every assistance in their power; and, to complete the delicacy and disinterestedness of his conduct, even the people he employed could not be prevailed on to accept the smallest present. After remaining out six days, our officers returned, without having been able to penetrate above twenty miles into the island; partly from want of proper guides, and partly from the impracticability of the country.

The head of the *Resolution's* rudder being found exceedingly shaken, and most of the pintles either loose or broken, it was unhung, and sent on shore on the 27th in the morning, to undergo a thorough repair. At the same time the carpenters were sent into the country, under conduct of some of Kaoo's people, to cut planks for the head rail work, which





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was also entirely decayed and rotten. On the 28th, Capt. Clerke, whose ill health confined him, for the most part, on board, paid Terreeoboo his first visit, at his hut on shore. He was received with the same formalities as were observed with Capt. Cook; and on his coming away, though the visit was quite unexpected, he received a present of thirty large hogs, and as much fruit and roots as his crew could consume in a week.

As we had not seen any thing of their sports or athletic exercises, the natives, at the request of some of our officers, entertained us this evening with a boxing-match. Though these games were much inferior, as well in point of solemnity and magnificence, as in the skill and powers of the combatants, to what we had seen exhibited at the Friendly Islands; yet, as they differed in some particulars, it may not be improper to give a short account of them. We found a vast concourse of people assembled on a level spot of ground, at a little distance from our tents. A long space was left vacant in the midst of them, at the upper end of which sat the judges, under three standards, from which hung slips of cloth of various colours, the skins of two wild geese, a few small birds, and bunches of feathers. When the sports were ready to begin, the signal was given by the judges, and immediately two combatants appeared. They came forward slowly, lifting up their feet very high behind, and drawing their hands along the soles. As they approached, they frequently eyed each other from head to foot, in a contemptuous manner, casting several arch looks at the spectators, straining their muscles, and using a variety of affected gestures. Being advanced within reach of each other, they stood with both arms held out straight before their faces, at which part all their blows were aimed. They struck, in what appeared to our eyes an awkward manner, with a full swing of the arm; made no attempt to parry, but eluded their adversary's attack by an inclination of the body, or by retreating. The battle was quickly decided; for if either of



them was knocked down, or even fell by accident, he was considered as vanquished, and the victor expressed his triumph by a variety of gestures, which usually excited, as was intended, a loud laugh among the spectators. He then waited for a second antagonist; and, if again victorious, for a third, till he was at last, in his turn, defeated. A singular rule observed in these combats is, that whilst any two are preparing to fight, a third person may step in, and choose either of them for his antagonist, when the other is obliged to withdraw. Sometimes three or four followed each other in this manner, before the match was settled. When the combat proved longer than usual, or appeared too unequal, one of the chiefs generally stepped in, and ended it by putting a stick between the combatants. The same good humour was preserved throughout, which we before so much admired in the Friendly Islanders. As these games were given at our desire, we found it universally expected that we should have borne our part in them; but our people, though much pressed by the natives, turned a deaf ear to their challenge, remembering full well the blows they got at the Friendly Islands.

This day died William Watman, a seamen of the gunner's crew; an event which I mention the more particularly, as death had hitherto been very rare amongst us. He was an old man, and much respected on account of his attachment to Capt. Cook. He had formerly served as a marine twenty-one years; after which, he entered as a seaman on board the *Resolution* in 1772, and served with Capt. Cook in his voyage toward the South Pole. At their return, he was admitted into Greenwich Hospital, through the captain's interest, at the same time with himself; and being resolved to follow throughout the fortunes of his benefactor, he also quitted it along with him, on his being appointed to the command of the present expedition. During the voyage, he had been frequently subject to slight fevers, and was a convalescent when we came into the bay, where, being sent

on shore for a few days, he conceived himself perfectly recovered, and, at his own desire, returned on board ; but the day following, he had a paralytic stroke, which in two days more carried him off. At the request of the king of the island, he was buried on the morai, and the ceremony was performed with as much solemnity as our situation permitted. Old Kaoo and his brethren were spectators, and preserved the most profound silence and attention, whilst the service was reading. When we began to fill up the grave, they approached it with great reverence, threw in a dead pig, some cocoa-nuts, and plantains ; and, for three nights afterward, they surrounded it, sacrificing hogs, and performing their usual ceremonies of hymns and prayers, which continued till day-break. At the head of the grave we erected a post, and nailed upon it a square piece of board, on which was inscribed the name of the deceased, his age, and the day of his death. This they promised not to remove ; and we have no doubt but that it will be suffered to remain, as long as the frail materials of which it is made will permit.

The ships being in great want of fuel, the captain desired me, on the 2d of February, to treat with the priests, for the purchase of the rail that surrounded the top of the morai. I must confess, I had, at first, some doubt about the decency of this proposal, and was apprehensive that even the bare mention of it might be considered by them as a piece of shocking impiety. In this, however, I found myself mistaken ; not the smallest surprise was expressed at the application, and the wood was readily given, even without stipulating for any thing in return. Whilst the sailors were taking it away, I observed one of them carrying off a carved image ; and, on further inquiry, I found that they had conveyed to the boats the whole semicircle. Though this was done in the presence of the natives, who had not shewn any mark of resentment at it, but had even assisted them in the removal, I thought it proper to speak to Kaoo on the

subject, who appeared very indifferent about the matter, and only desired that we would restore the centre image I have mentioned before, which he carried into one of the priests' houses.

Terreeoboo and his chiefs had for some days past been very inquisitive about the time of our departure. This circumstance had excited in me a great curiosity to know what opinion this people had formed of us, and what were their ideas respecting the cause and objects of our voyage. I took some pains to satisfy myself on these points; but could never learn any thing farther, than that they imagined we came from some country where provisions had failed; and that our visit to them was merely for the purpose of filling our bellies. Indeed, the meagre appearance of some of our crew, the hearty appetites with which we sat down to their fresh provisions, and our great anxiety to purchase as much as we were able, led them naturally enough to such a conclusion. To these may be added, a circumstance which puzzled them exceedingly, our having no women with us, together with our quiet conduct and unwarlike appearance. It was ridiculous enough to see them stroking the sides, and patting the bellies of the sailors (who were certainly much improved in the sleekness of their looks during our short stay on the island), and telling them, partly by signs and partly by words, that it was time for them to go; but if they would come again the next bread-fruit season, they should be better able to supply their wants. We had now been sixteen days in the bay; and if our enormous consumption of hogs and vegetables be considered, it need not be wondered that they should wish to see us take our leave. It is very probable, however, that Terreeoboo had no other view in his enquiries at present, than a desire of making sufficient preparation for dismissing us with presents suitable to the respect and kindness with which he had received us; for, on our telling him we should leave the island on the next day but one, we observed that a sort of proclamation

was immediately made through the villages, to require the people to bring in their hogs and vegetables, for the king to present to the Orono on his departure.

We were this day much diverted, at the beach, by the buffooneries of one of the natives. His style of dancing was entirely burlesque, and accompanied with strange grimaces and pantomimical distortions of the face, which though at times inexpressibly ridiculous, yet on the whole was without much meaning or expression. In the evening, we were again entertained with wrestling and boxing matches, and we displayed, in return, the few fireworks we had left. Nothing could be better calculated to excite the admiration of these islanders, and to impress them with an idea of our great superiority, than an exhibition of this kind.

The carpenters, from both ships, having been sent up the country to cut planks for the head rail-work of the Resolution, this being the third day since their departure, we began to be very anxious for their safety. We were communicating our apprehensions to old Kaoo, who appeared as much concerned as ourselves, and were concerting measures with him for sending after them, when they arrived all safe. They had been obliged to go farther into the country than was expected, before they met with trees fit for their purpose; and it was this circumstance, together with the badness of the roads and the difficulty of bringing back the timber, which had detained them so long. They spoke in high terms of their guides, who both supplied them with provisions, and guarded their tools with the utmost fidelity. The next day being fixed for our departure, Terreeoboo invited Capt. Cook and myself to attend him on the 3d, to the place where Kaoo resided. On our arrival, we found the ground covered with parcels of cloth; a vast quantity of red and yellow feathers, tied to the fibres of cocoa-nut husks; and a great number of hatchets and other pieces of iron-ware, that had been got in barter from us. At a little distance from these lay an immense quantity

of vegetables of every kind, and near them was a large herd of hogs. At first, we imagined the whole to be intended as a present for us, till Kaireekkea informed me that it was a gift or tribute from the people of that district to the king; and accordingly as we were seated, they brought all the bundles, and laid them severally at Terreeoboo's feet, spreading out the cloth and displaying the feathers and iron-ware, before him. The king seemed much pleased with this mark of their duty; and having selected about a third part of the iron-ware, the same proportion of feathers, and a few pieces of cloth, these were set aside by themselves, and the remainder of the cloth, together with all the hogs and vegetables, were afterward presented to Capt. Cook and myself. We were astonished at the value and magnitude of this present, which exceeded every thing of the kind we had seen either at the Friendly or Society Islands. Boats were immediately sent to carry them on board; the large hogs were picked out, to be salted for sea-store, and upward of thirty smaller pigs and the vegetables were divided between the two crews.

The same day we quitted the morai and got the tents and astronomical instruments on board. The charm of the taboo was now removed; and we had no sooner left the place, than the natives rushed in, and searched eagerly about, in expectation of finding something of value, that we might have left behind. As I happened to remain the last on shore, and waited for the return of the boat, several came crowding about me, and having made me sit down by them, began to lament our separation. It was, indeed, not without difficulty I was able to quit them. And here I hope I may be permitted to relate a trifling occurrence, in which I was principally concerned: having had the command of the party on shore, during the whole time we were in the bay, I had an opportunity of becoming better acquainted with the natives, and of being better known to them, than those whose duty required them to be generally on board. As I had every reason to be satisfied with their

kindness in general, so I cannot too often nor too particularly mention the unbounded and constant friendship of their priests. On my part, I spared no endeavours to conciliate their affections, and gain their esteem; and I had the good fortune to succeed so far, that, when the time of our departure was made known, I was strongly solicited to remain behind, not without offers of the most flattering kind. When I excused myself, by saying that Capt. Cook would not give his consent, they proposed that I should retire into the mountains, where, they said, they would conceal me till after the departure of the ships; and on my farther assuring them that the captain would not leave the bay without me, Terreoboo and Kaoo waited upon Capt. Cook, whose son they supposed I was, with a formal request that I might be left behind. The captain, to avoid giving a positive refusal to an offer so kindly intended, told them that he could not part with me at that time, but that he should return to the island next year, and would then endeavour to settle the matter to their satisfaction.

Early in the morning of the 4th, we unmoored and sailed out of the bay, with the *Discovery* in company, and were followed by a great number of canoes. Capt. Cook's design was to finish the survey of Owhyhee before he visited the other islands, in hopes of meeting with a road better sheltered than the bay we had just left; and in case of not succeeding here, he purposed to take a view of the south-east part of Mowee, where the natives informed us we should find an excellent harbour. We had calm weather all this and the following day, which made our progress to the northward very slow. We were accompanied by a great number of the natives in their canoes; and Terreoboo gave a fresh proof of his friendship to Capt. Cook, by a large present of hogs and vegetables that was sent after him.

In the night of the 5th, having a light breeze off the land, we made some way to the northward; and in the morning of the 6th, having passed the westernmost point of the island,



we found ourselves abreast of a deep bay called by the natives Toe-yah-yah. We had great hopes that this bay would furnish us with a safe and commodious harbour, as we saw, to the north-east, several fine streams of water, and the whole had the appearance of being well sheltered. These observations agreeing with the accounts given us by Koah, who accompanied Capt. Cook and had changed his name, out of compliment to us, into Britannee, the pinnace was hoisted out, and the master, with Britannee for his guide, was sent to examine the bay, whilst the ships worked up after them. In the afternoon, the weather became gloomy, and the gusts of wind that blew off the land were so violent, as to make it necessary to take in all the sails, and bring to under the mizen-stay sail. All the canoes left us, at the beginning of the gale; and Mr. Bligh, on his return, had the satisfaction of saving an old woman and two men, whose canoe had been overset by the violence of the wind, as they were endeavouring to gain the shore. Besides these distressed people, we had a great many women on board, whom the natives had left behind, in their hurry to shift for themselves.

The master reported to Capt. Cook, that he had landed at the only village he saw, on the north side of the bay, where he was directed to some wells of water, but found they would by no means answer our purpose; that he afterward proceeded farther into the bay, which runs inland to a great depth, and stretches toward the foot of a very conspicuous high mountain, situated on the north-west end of the island; but that instead of meeting with safe anchorage, as Britannee had taught him to expect, he found the shores low and rocky, and a flat bed of coral rocks running along the coast and extending upward of a mile from the land; on the outside of which the depth of water was twenty fathoms, over a sandy bottom, and that, in the mean time, Britannee had contrived to slip away, being afraid of returning, as we imagined, because his information had not

proved true. In the evening, the weather being more moderate, we again made sail ; but about midnight it blew so violently, as to split both the fore and main topsails. On the morning of the 7th, we bent fresh sails, and had fair weather, and a light breeze. At noon, the latitude, by observation, was  $30^{\circ} 1'$  north, the west point of the island bearing south,  $7^{\circ}$  east, and the north-west point north,  $38^{\circ}$  east. As we were, at this time, four or five leagues from the shore, and the weather very unsettled, none of the canoes would venture out, so that our guests were obliged to remain with us, much indeed to their dissatisfaction ; for they were all sea-sick, and many of them had left young children behind them.

In the afternoon, though the weather was still squally, we stood in for the land, and being about three leagues from it, we saw a canoe, with two men paddling towards us, which we immediately conjectured had been driven off the shore by the late boisterous weather, and therefore stopped the ship's way in order to take them in. These poor wretches were so exhausted with fatigue, that had not one of the natives on board, observing their weakness, jumped into the canoe to their assistance, they would scarcely have been able to fasten it to the rope we had thrown out for that purpose. It was with difficulty we got them up the ship's side, together with a child about four years old, which they had lashed under the thwarts of the canoe, where it had lain with only its head above water. They told us, they had left the shore the morning before, and had been from that time without food or water. The usual precautions were taken in giving them victuals, and the child being committed to the care of one of the women, all next morning perfectly recovered.

At midnight, a gale of wind came on, which obliged us to double reef the topsails, and get down the top-gallant yards. On the 8th, at day-break, we found, that the foremast had again given way, the fishes, which were put on

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*The Death of Captain Cook*

the head, in King George's or Nootka Sound, on the coast of America, being sprung, and the parts so very defective, as to make it absolutely necessary to replace them, and of course, to unstep the mast. In this difficulty, Capt. Cook was for some time in doubt, whether he should run the chance of meeting with a harbour in the islands to leeward, or return to Karakakooa. That bay was not so remarkably commodious, in any respect, but that a better might probably be expected, both for the purpose of repairing the masts, and for procuring refreshments, of which, it was imagined, that the neighbourhood of Karakakooa had been already pretty well drained. On the other hand, it was considered as too great a risk to leave a place that was tolerably sheltered, and which, once left, could not be regained, for the mere hopes of meeting with a better, the failure of which might perhaps have left us without resource. We therefore continued standing on toward the land, in order to give the natives an opportunity of releasing their friends on board from their confinement; and at noon, being within a mile of the shore, a few canoes came off to us, but so crowded with people, that there was not room in them for any of our guests; we therefore hoisted out the pinnacle to carry them on shore, and the master, who went with them, had directions to examine the south coasts of the bay for water, but returned without finding any. The winds being variable, and a current setting to the northward, we made but little progress in our return; and at eight o'clock in the evening of the 9th, it began to blow very hard from the south-east, which obliged us to close reef the topsails; and at two in the morning of the 10th, in a heavy squall, we found ourselves close in with the breakers, that lie to the northward of the west point of Owhyhee. We had just room to haul off, and avoid them, and fired several guns to apprize the Discovery of the danger. In the forenoon, the weather was more moderate, and a few canoes came off to us, from which we learnt, that the late storms had done much mis-

The Death of Captain Cook

chief ; and that several large canoes had been lost. During the remainder of the day, we kept beating to windward : and, before night, we were within a mile of the bay ; but not choosing to run on, while it was dark, we stood off and on till day-light next morning, when we dropt anchor nearly in the same place as before.

We were employed the whole of the 11th, and part of the 12th, in getting out the foremast, and sending it, with the carpenters, on shore. Besides the damage which the head of the mast had sustained, we found the heel exceedingly rotten, having a large hole up the middle of it, capable of holding four or five cocoa nuts. It was not, however, thought necessary to shorten it ; and fortunately, the logs of red toa-wood, which had been cut at Eimeo, for anchor-stocks, were found fit to replace the sprung parts of the fishes. As these repairs were likely to take up several days, Mr. Bayly and myself got the astronomical apparatus on shore, and pitched our tents on the morai ; having with us a guard of a corporal and six marines. We renewed our friendly correspondence with the priests, who, for the greater security of the workmen, and their tools, tabooed the place where the mast lay, sticking their wands round it, as before. The sailmakers were also sent on shore, to repair the damages which had taken place in their department, during the late gales. They were lodged in a house adjoining to the morai, that was lent us by the priests. Such were our arrangements on shore. I shall now proceed to the account of those other transactions with the natives, which led, by degrees, to the fatal catastrophe of the 14th. Upon coming to anchor, we were surprized to find our reception very different from what it had been on our first arrival ; no shouts, no bustle, no confusion ; but a solitary bay, with only here and there a canoe stealing close along the shore. The impulse of curiosity, which had before operated to so great a degree, might now indeed be supposed to have ceased ; but the hospitable treatment we had



invariably met with, and the friendly footing on which we parted, gave us some reason to expect that they would again have flocked about us with great joy on our return. We were forming various conjectures upon the occasion of this extraordinary appearance, when our anxiety was at length relieved by the return of a boat, which had been sent on shore, and brought us word, that Terreeoboo was absent and had left the bay under the taboo. Though this account appeared very satisfactory to most of us; yet others were of opinion, or rather perhaps have been led, by subsequent events, to imagine that there was something at this time very suspicious in the behaviour of the natives, and that the interdiction of all intercourse with us, on pretence of the king's absence, was only to give him time to consult with his chiefs, in what manner it might be proper to treat us. Whether these suspicions were well founded, or the account given by the natives was the truth, we were never able to ascertain; for though it is not improbable, that our sudden return, for which they could not see any apparent cause, and the necessity of which we afterward found it very difficult to make them comprehend, might occasion some alarm, yet the unsuspicious conduct of Terreeoboo, who, on his supposed arrival the next morning, came immediately to visit Capt. Cook, and the consequent return of the natives to their former friendly intercourse with us, are strong proofs that they neither meant nor apprehended any change of conduct. In support of this opinion, I may add the account of another accident precisely of the same kind, which happened to us on our first visit, the day before the arrival of the king. A native had sold a hog on board the *Resolution* and taken the price agreed on, when *Parcea* passing by, advised the man not to part with the hog without an advanced price; for this he was sharply spoken to and pushed away, and the taboo being soon after laid on the bay, we had at first no doubt but that it was in consequence of the offence given to the chief. Both these accidents serve to

shew how very difficult it is to draw any certain conclusion from the actions of people with whose customs, as well as language, we are so imperfectly acquainted; at the same time some idea may be formed from them of the difficulties, at the first view perhaps not very apparent, which those have to encounter, who, in all their transactions with these strangers, have to steer their course amidst so much uncertainty, where a trifling error may be attended with even the most fatal consequences. However true or false our conjectures may be, things went on in their usual quiet course till the afternoon of the 13th.

Toward the evening of that day, the officer who commanded the watering-party of the *Discovery* came to inform me, that several chiefs had assembled at the well near the beach, driving away the natives, whom he had hired to assist the sailors in rolling down the casks to the shore. He told me, at the same time, that he thought their behaviour extremely suspicious, and that they meant to give him some disturbance. At his request therefore I sent a marine along with him, but suffered him to take only his side arms. In a short time the officer returned, and on his acquainting me that the islanders had armed themselves with stones, and were grown very tumultuous, I went myself to the spot attended by a marine with his musket. Seeing us approach, they threw away their stones, and on my speaking to some of the chiefs, the mob were driven away, and those who chose it, were suffered to assist in filling the casks. Having left things quiet here, I went to meet Capt. Cook, whom I saw coming on shore in the pinnace. I related to him what had just passed, and he ordered me, in case of their beginning to throw stones or behave insolently, immediately to fire a ball at the offenders. I accordingly gave orders to the corporal, to have the pieces of the sentinels loaded with ball, instead of small shot.

Soon after our return to the tents, we were alarmed by a continued fire of muskets from the *Discovery*, which we

observed to be directed at a canoe that we saw paddling toward the shore in great haste, pursued by one of our small boats. We immediately concluded that the firing was in consequence of some theft, and Capt. Cook ordered me to follow him with a marine armed, and to endeavour to seize the people as they came on shore. Accordingly we ran toward the place where we supposed the canoe would land, but were too late, the people having quitted it and made their escape into the country before our arrival. We were at this time ignorant that the goods had been already restored; and as we thought it probable, from the circumstances we had at first observed, that they might be of importance, were unwilling to relinquish our hopes of recovering them. Having therefore inquired of the natives which way the people had fled, we followed them till it was near dark, when judging ourselves to be about three miles from the tents, and suspecting that the natives, who frequently encouraged us in the pursuit, were amusing us with false information, we thought it in vain to continue our search any longer, and returned to the beach. During our absence, a difference of a more serious and unpleasant nature had happened. The officer who had been sent in the small boat, and was returning on board with the goods which had been restored, observing Capt. Cook and me engaged in the pursuit of the offenders, thought it his duty to seize the canoe which was left drawn up on the shore. Unfortunately this canoe belonged to Pareea, who arriving at the same moment from on board the *Discovery*, claimed his property, with many protestations of his innocence. The officer refusing to give it up, and being joined by the crew of the pinnace, which was waiting for Capt. Cook, a scuffle ensued, in which Pareea was knocked down by a violent blow on the head with an ear. The natives, who were collected about the spot, and had hitherto been peaceable spectators, immediately attacked our people with such a shower of stones, as forced them to retreat with great precipitation, and swim off to a rock at

some distance from the shore. The pinnacle was immediately ransacked by the islanders ; and but for the timely interposition of Pareea, who seemed to have recovered from the blow and forgot it at the same instant, would soon have been entirely demolished. Having driven away the crowd, he made signs to our people that they might come and take possession of the pinnacle, and that he would endeavour to get back the things which had been taken out of it. After their departure, he followed them in his canoe, with a midshipman's cap and some other trifling articles of the plunder, and with much apparent concern at what had happened, asked if the Orono would kill him, and whether he would permit him to come on board the next day. On being assured that he would be well received, he joined noses (as their custom is) with the officers, in token of friendship, and paddled over to the village of Kowrowa.

When Capt. Cook was informed of what had passed, he expressed much uneasiness at it, and as we were returning on board, "I am afraid," said he, "that these people will oblige me to use some violent measures ; for," he added, "they must not be left to imagine that they have gained an advantage over us." However, as it was too late to take any steps this evening, he contented himself with giving orders that every man and woman on board should be immediately turned out of the ship. As soon as this order was executed, I returned on shore ; and our former confidence in the natives being now much abated by the events of the day, I posted a double guard on the morai, with orders to call me if they saw any men lurking about the beach. At about eleven o'clock five islanders were observed creeping round the bottom of the morai ; they seemed very cautious in approaching us, and, at last, finding themselves discovered, retired out of sight. About midnight, one of them venturing up close to the observatory, the sentinel fired over him ; on which the men fled, and we passed the remainder of the night without farther disturbance. Next morning,

at day-light, I went on board the *Resolution* for the time-keeper and in my way was hailed by the *Discovery*, and informed that their cutter had been stolen, during the night, from the buoy where it was moored.

When I arrived on board, I found the marines arming, and Capt. Cook loading his double-barrelled gun. Whilst I was relating to him what had happened to us in the night, he interrupted me with some eagerness, and acquainted me with the loss of the *Discovery's* cutter and with the preparations he was making for its recovery. It had been his usual practice, whenever any thing of consequence was lost, at any of the islands in this ocean, to get the king or some of the principal Erees, on board, and to keep them as hostages till it was restored. This method, which had been always attended with success, he meant to pursue on the present occasion ; and, at the same time, had given orders to stop all the canoes that should attempt to leave the bay, with an intention of seizing and destroying them if he could not recover the cutter by peaceable means. Accordingly the boats of both ships, well manned and armed, were stationed across the bay, and before I left the ship, some great guns had been fired at two large canoes, that were attempting to make their escape. It was between seven and eight o'clock when we quitted the ship together ; Capt. Cook in the pinnace, having Mr. Phillips and nine marines with him, and myself in the small boat. The last orders I received from him were to quiet the minds of the natives on our side of the bay, by assuring them they should not be hurt ; to keep my people together, and to be on my guard. We then parted ; the captain went toward Kowrowa, where the king resided, and I proceeded to the beach. My first care, on going a shore, was to give strict orders to the marines to remain within the tent, to load their pieces with ball, and not to quit their arms. Afterward I took a walk to the huts of old Kaoo and the priests, and explained to them, as well as I could, the hostile preparations which had exceed-

ingly alarmed them. I found that they had already heard of the cutter's being stolen, and I assured them, that though Capt. Cook was resolved to recover it and to punish the authors of the theft, yet that they, and the people of the village on our side, need not be under the smallest apprehension of suffering any evil from us. I desired the priests to explain this to the people, and to tell them not to be alarmed, but to continue peaceable and quiet. Kaeo asked me, with great earnestness, if Terreeoboo was to be hurt; I assured him he was not, and both he and the rest of his brethren seemed much satisfied with this assurance.

In the mean time, Capt. Cook, having called off the launch, which was stationed at the north point of the bay, and taken it along with him, proceeded to Kowrowa, and landed with the lieutenant and nine marines. He immediately marched into the village, where he was received with the usual marks of respect, the people prostrating themselves before him, and bringing their accustomed offerings of small hogs. Finding that there was no suspicion of his design, his next step was to enquire for Terreeoboo, and the two boys, his sons, who had been his constant guests on board the Resolution. In a short time, the boys returned along with the natives, who had been in search of them, and immediately led Capt. Cook to the house where the king had slept. They found the old man just awoke from sleep; and, after a short conversation about the loss of the cutter, from which Capt. Cook was convinced that he was in no wise privy to it, he invited him to return in the boat, and spend the day on board the Resolution. To this proposal the king readily consented, and immediately got up to accompany him.

Things were in this prosperous train, the two boys being already in the pinnace, and the rest of the party having advanced near the water-side, when an elderly woman called Kanee-kabareea, the mother of the boys, and one of the king's favourite wives, came after him, and with many tears



and entreaties, besought him not to go on board. At the same time, two chiefs, who came along with her, laid hold of him, and insisting that he should go no farther, forced him to sit down. The natives, who were collecting in prodigious numbers along the shore, and had probably been alarmed by the firing of the great guns, and the appearances of hostility in the bay, began to throng round Capt. Cook and their king. In this situation, the lieutenant of marines, observing that his men were huddled close together in the crowd, and thus incapable of using their arms, if any occasion should require it, proposed to the captain to draw them up along the rocks, close to the water's edge; and the crowd readily making way for them to pass, they were drawn up in a line, at the distance of about thirty yards from the place where the king was sitting. All this time, the old king remained on the ground, with the strongest marks of terror and dejection in his countenance; Capt. Cook, not willing to abandon the object for which he had come on shore, continuing to urge him, in the most pressing manner, to proceed; whilst, on the other hand, whenever the king appeared inclined to follow him, the chiefs, who stood round him, interposed, at first with prayers and entreaties, but afterward had recourse to force and violence, and insisted on his staying where he was. Capt. Cook, therefore, finding that the alarm had spread too generally, and that it was in vain to think any longer of getting him off without bloodshed, at last gave up the point, observing to Mr. Phillips, that it would be impossible to compel him to go on board without the risk of killing a great number of the inhabitants.

Though the enterprize which had carried Capt. Cook on shore had now failed, and was abandoned, yet his person did not appear to have been in the least danger, till an accident happened which gave a fatal turn to the affair. The boats which had been stationed across the bay having fired at some canoes that were attempting to get out, unfortu-

nately had killed a chief of the first rank. The news of his death arrived at the village where Capt. Cook was, just as he had left the king and was walking slowly toward the shore. The ferment it made was very conspicuous; the women and children were immediately sent off, and the men put on their war-mats, and armed themselves with spears and stones. One of the natives, having in his hands a stone, and a large iron spike (which they call a pahooa) came up to the captain, flourishing his weapon by way of defiance, and threatening to throw the stone. The captain desired him to desist, but the man persisting in his insolence, he was at length provoked to fire a load of small-shot. The man having his mat on, which the shot were not able to penetrate, this had no other effect than to irritate and encourage them. Several stones were thrown at the marines, and one of the Erees attempted to stab Mr. Phillips with his pahooa, but failed in the attempt, and received from him a blow with the butt end of his musket. Capt. Cook now fired his second barrel, loaded with ball, and killed one of the foremost of the natives. A general attack with stones immediately followed, which was answered by a discharge of musketry from the marines, and the people in the boats. The islanders, contrary to the expectations of every one, stood the fire with great firmness, and before the marines had time to re-load, they broke in upon them with dreadful shouts and yells. What followed was a scene of the utmost horror and confusion.

Four of the marines were cut off from the rocks in their retreat, and fell a sacrifice to the fury of the enemy; three more were dangerously wounded; and the lieutenant, who had received a stab between the shoulders with a pahooa, having fortunately reserved his fire, shot the man who had wounded him just as he was going to repeat his blow. Our unfortunate commander, the last time he was seen distinctly, was standing on the water's edge, and calling out to the boats to cease firing and to pull in. If it be true, as some

of those who were present have imagined, that the marines and boatmen had fired without his orders, and he was desirous of preventing any further bloodshed, it is not improbable that his humanity on this occasion proved fatal to him: for it was remarked, that whilst he faced the natives, none of them had offered him any violence, but having turned about to give his orders to the boats, he was stabbed in the back and fell with his face into the water. On seeing him fall, the islanders set up a great shout, and his body was immediately dragged on shore, and surrounded by the enemy, who, snatching the dagger out of each other's hands, shewed a savage eagerness to have a share in his destruction.

Thus fell our great and excellent commander! After a life of so much distinguished and successful enterprize, his death, as far as regards himself, cannot be reckoned premature, since he lived to finish the great work for which he seems to have been designed, and was rather removed from the enjoyment, than cut off from the acquisition, of glory. How sincerely his loss was felt and lamented by those who had so long found their general security in his skill and conduct, and every consolation, under their hardships, in his tenderness and humanity. It is neither necessary nor possible for me to describe; much less shall I attempt to paint the horror with which we were struck, and the universal dejection and dismay which followed so dreadful and unexpected a calamity.

In the year 1758, we find Capt. Cook master of the *Northumburland*, the flag-ship of Lord Colville, who had then the command of the squadron stationed on the coast of America. It was here, as I have often heard him say, that, during a hard winter, he first read Euclid, and applied himself to the study of mathematics and astronomy, without any other assistance than what a few books and his own industry afforded him. At the same time that he thus found means to cultivate and improve his mind, and to supply the deficiencies of an early education, he was engaged in most

of the busy and active scenes of the war in America. At the siege of Quebec, Sir Charles Saunders committed to his charge the execution of services of the first importance in the naval department. He piloted the boats to the attack of Montmorency; conducted the embarkation to the Heights of Abraham; examined the passage, and laid buoys for the security of the large ships in proceeding up the river. The courage and address with which he acquitted himself in these services, gained him the warm friendship of Sir Charles Saunders and Lord Colville, who continued to patronize him during the rest of their lives, with the greatest zeal and affection. At the conclusion of the war, he was appointed, through the recommendation of Lord Colville and Sir Hugh Palliser, to survey the Gulph of St. Laurant and the coasts of Newfoundland. In this employment he continued till the year 1767, when he was fixed on by Sir Edward Hawke to command the expedition to the South Seas, for the purpose of observing the transit of Venus, and prosecuting discoveries in that part of the globe, as described in the history of his first voyage. From this period, his reputation has proportionably advanced to a height too great to be affected by my panegyrick; indeed he appears to have been most eminently and peculiarly qualified for this species of enterprise. The earliest habits of his life, the course of his services, and the constant application of his mind, all conspired to fit him for it, and gave him a degree of professional knowledge, which can fall to the lot of very few. The constitution of his body was robust, inured to labour, and capable of undergoing the severest hardships. His stomach bore, without difficulty, the coarsest and most ungrateful food. Indeed, temperance in him was scarcely a virtue, so great was the indifference with which he submitted to every kind of self-denial. The qualities of his mind were of the same hardy, vigorous kind with those of his body. His understanding was strong and perspicacious. His judgment, in whatever related to the services he was

engaged in, quick and sure. His designs were bold and manly; and both in the conception, and in the mode of execution, bore evident marks of original genius. His courage was cool and determined, and accompanied with an admirable presence of mind in the moment of danger. His manners were plain and unaffected. His temper might perhaps have been justly blamed, as subject to hastiness and passion, had not these been disarmed by a disposition the most benevolent and humane.

Such were the outlines of Capt. Cook's character; but its most distinguishing feature was, that unremitting perseverance in the pursuit of his object, which was superior to the opposition of dangers and the pressure of hardships. During the long and tedious voyages in which he was engaged, his eagerness and activity were never in the least abated. No incidental temptation could detain him for a moment; even those intervals of recreation which sometimes unavoidably occurred, were submitted to by him with a certain impatience, whenever they could not be employed in making further provision for the more effectual prosecution of his designs. It is not necessary here to enumerate the instances in which these qualities were displayed, during the great and important enterprizes in which he was engaged. I shall content myself with stating the result of those services, under the two principal heads to which they may be referred, those of geography and navigation, placing each in a separate and distinct point of view.

Perhaps no science ever received greater additions from the labours of a single man, than geography has done from those of Capt. Cook. In his first voyage to the South Seas, he discovered the Society Islands; determined the insularity of New Zealand; discovered the straits which separate the two islands, which are called after his name, and made a complete survey of both. He afterwards explored the eastern coast of New Holland, hitherto unknown, an extent of twenty-seven degrees of latitude, or upwards of

two thousand miles. In his second expedition, he resolved the great problem of a Southern continent, having traversed that hemisphere, between the latitudes of  $40^{\circ}$  and  $70^{\circ}$ , in such a manner, as not to leave a possibility of its existence, unless near the pole, and out of the reach of navigation. During this voyage he discovered New Caledonia, the largest island in the Southern Pacific, except New Zealand; the island of Georgia; and an unknown coast, which he named Sandwich Land, the thule of the southern hemisphere; and having twice visited the tropical seas, he settled the situations of the old, and made several new discoveries.

But the voyage we are now relating, is distinguished above all the rest, by the extent and importance of its discoveries. Besides several smaller islands in the Southern Pacific, he discovered, to the north of the equinoctial line, the group called the Sandwich Islands; which, from their situation and productions, bid fairer for becoming an object of consequence in the system of European navigation than any other discovery in the South Sea. He afterward explored what had hitherto remained unknown of the western coast of America, from the latitude of  $43^{\circ}$  to  $70^{\circ}$  north, containing an extent of three thousand five hundred miles; ascertained the proximity of the two great continents of Asia and America; passed the straits between them, and surveyed the coast, on each side, to such a height of northern latitude, as to demonstrate the impracticability of a passage in that hemisphere, from the Atlantic into the Pacific Ocean, either by an eastern or a western course.

Those who are conversant in naval history need not be told at how dear a rate the advantages which have been sought through the medium of long voyages at sea, have, always been purchased. That dreadful disorder which is peculiar to this service, and whose ravages have marked the tracks of discoverers with circumstances almost too shocking to relate, must, without exercising an unwarrantable tyranny over the lives of our seamen, have proved an insuperable



obstacle to the prosecution of such enterprizes. It was reserved for Capt. Cook to shew the world, by repeated trials, that voyages might be protracted to the unusual length of three or even four years, in unknown regions, and under every change and rigour of climate, not only without affecting the health, but even without diminishing the probability of life in the smallest degree. The method he pursued has been fully explained by himself in a paper which was read before the Royal Society, in the year 1776; and whatever improvements the experience of the present voyage has suggested, are mentioned in their proper places.

With respect to his professional abilities, I shall leave them to the judgment of those who are best acquainted with the nature of the services in which he was engaged. They will readily acknowledge, that to have conducted three expeditions of so much danger and difficulty, of so unusual a length, and in such a variety of situation, with uniform and invariable success, must have required not only a thorough and accurate knowledge of his business, but a powerful and comprehensive genius, fruitful in resources, and equally ready in the application of whatever the higher and inferior calls of the service required.

Having given the most faithful account I have been able to collect, both from my own observation, and the relations of others, of the death of my ever honoured friend, and also of his character and services, I shall now leave his memory to the gratitude and admiration of posterity; accepting with a melancholy satisfaction, the honour which the loss of him hath procured me, of seeing my name joined with his, and of testifying that affection and respect for his memory, which, whilst he lived, it was no less my inclination, than my constant study to shew him.

It has been already related, that four of the marines, who attended Capt. Cook, were killed by the islanders on the spot. The rest, with Mr. Phillips, their lieutenant, threw themselves into the water, and escaped, under cover of a

smart fire from the boats. On this occasion, a remarkable instance of gallant behaviour, and of affection for his men, was shewn by that officer; for he had scarcely got into the boat, when, seeing one of the marines, who was a bad swimmer, struggling in the water, and in danger of being taken by the enemy, he immediately jumped into the sea to his assistance, though much wounded himself; and after receiving a blow on the head from a stone, which had nearly sent him to the bottom, he caught the man by the hair, and brought him safe off.

Our people continued for some time to keep up a constant fire from the boats (which, during the whole transaction, were not more than twenty yards from the land), in order to afford their unfortunate companions, if any of them should still remain alive, an opportunity of escaping. These efforts, seconded by a few guns fired at the same time from the *Resolution*, having forced the natives at last to retire, a small boat, manned by five of our young midshipmen, pulled toward the shore, where they saw the bodies, without any signs of life, lying on the ground; but judging it dangerous to attempt to bring them off with so small a force, and their ammunition being nearly expended, they returned to the ships, leaving them in possession of the islanders, together with ten stands of arms. As soon as the general consternation which the news of this calamity occasioned throughout both ships had a little subsided, their attention was called to our party at the morai, where the mast and sails were on shore, with a guard of only six marines. It is impossible for me to describe the emotions of my own mind, during the time these transactions had been carrying on, at the other side of the bay. Being at the distance only of a short mile from the village of Kowrowa, we could see distinctly an immense crowd collected on the spot where Capt. Cook had just before landed. We heard the firing of the musketry, and could perceive some extraordinary bustle and agitation in the multitude. We afterward saw

the natives flying, the boats retire from the shore, and passing and re-passing, in great stillness between the ships. I must confess that my heart soon misgave me. Where a life so dear and valuable was concerned, it was impossible not to be alarmed by appearances both new and threatening; but besides this, I knew that a long and uninterrupted course of success, in his transactions with the natives of these seas, had given the captain a degree of confidence that I was always fearful might, at some unlucky moment, put him too much off his guard; and I now saw all the dangers to which that confidence might lead, without receiving much consolation from considering the experience that had given rise to it.

My first care, on hearing the muskets fired, was to assure the people, who assembled in considerable numbers round the wall of our consecrated field, and seemed equally at a loss with ourselves how to account for what they had seen and heard, that they should not be molested; and that at all events, I was desirous of continuing on peaceable terms with them. We remained in this posture till the boats had returned on board, when Capt. Clerke observing, through his telescope, that we were surrounded by the natives, and apprehending they meant to attack us, ordered two four-pounders to be fired at them. Fortunately these guns, though well aimed, did no mischief, and yet gave the natives a convincing proof of their power. One of the balls broke a cocoa-nut tree in the middle, under which a party were sitting, and the other shivered a rock that stood in an exact line with them. As I had just before given them the strongest assurances of their safety, I was exceedingly mortified at this act of hostility; and, to prevent a repetition of it, immediately dispatched a boat to acquaint Capt. Clerke that, at present, I was on the most friendly terms with the natives; and that, if occasion should hereafter arise for altering my conduct toward them, I would

hoist a jack, as a signal for him to afford us all the assistance in his power.

We expected the return of the boat with the utmost impatience; and, after remaining a quarter of an hour under the most torturing anxiety and suspense, our fears were at length confirmed by the arrival of Mr. Bligh, with orders to strike the tents as quickly as possible, and to send the sails that were repairing on board. Just at the same moment our friend Kaireekee, having also received intelligence of the death of Capt. Cook, from a native who had arrived from the other side of the bay, came to me, with great sorrow and dejection in his countenance, to inquire if it was true. Our situation was, at this time, extremely critical and important; not only our own lives, but the event of the expedition, and the return of at least one of the ships, being involved in the same common danger. We had the mast of the *Resolution* and the greatest part of our sails on shore, under the protection of only six marines; their loss would have been irreparable; and though the natives had not as yet shewn the smallest disposition to molest us, yet it was impossible to answer for the alteration which the news of the transaction at Kowrowa might produce. I therefore thought it prudent to dissemble my belief of the death of Capt. Cook, and to desire Kaireekee to discourage the report; lest either the fear of our resentment, or the successful example of their countrymen, might lead them to seize the favourable opportunity, which at this time offered itself, of giving us a second blow. At the same time I advised him to bring old Kaoo and the rest of the priests, into a large house that was close to the morai; partly out of regard to their safety, in case it should have been found necessary to proceed to extremities, and partly to have him near us, in order to make use of his authority with the people, if it could be instrumental in preserving peace.

Having placed the marines on the top of the morai, which formed a strong and advantageous post, and left the com-

mand with Mr. Bligh, giving him the most positive directions to act entirely on the defensive, I went on board the *Discovery*, in order to represent to Capt. Clerke the dangerous situation of our affairs. As soon as I quitted the spot, the natives began to annoy our people with stones ; and I had scarcely reached the ship, before I heard the firing of the marines ; I therefore returned instantly on shore, where I found things every moment growing more alarming : the natives were arming, and putting on their mats, and their numbers increased very fast ; I could also perceive several large bodies marching towards us, along the cliff which separates the village of Kakooa from the north side of the bay, where the village of Kowrowa is situated. They began, at first, to attack us with stones, from behind the walls of their enclosures, and finding no resistance on our part, they soon grew more daring. A few resolute fellows having crept along the beach, under cover of the rocks, suddenly made their appearance at the front of the morai, with a design, as it seemed, of storming it on the side next the sea, which was its only accessible part, and were not dislodged till after they had stood a considerable number of shot and seen one of their party fall. The bravery of one of these assailants well deserves to be particularly mentioned ; for having returned to carry off his companion, amidst the fire of our whole party, a wound which he received made him quit the body and retire ; but in a few minutes he again appeared, and being again wounded, he was obliged a second time to retreat. At this moment I arrived at the morai, and saw him return the third time, bleeding and faint ; and being informed of what had happened, I forbade the soldiers to fire, and he was suffered to carry off his friend, which he was just able to perform, and then fell down himself and expired.

About this time, a strong reinforcement from both ships having landed, the natives retreated behind their walls ; which giving me access to our friendly priests, I sent one

of them to endeavour to bring their countrymen to some terms, and to propose to them, that if they would desist from throwing stones, I would not permit our men to fire. This truce was agreed to, and we were suffered to launch the mast, and carry off the sails and our astronomical apparatus unmolested. As soon as we had quitted the morai, they took possession of it, and some of them threw a few stones, but without doing us any mischief. It was half an hour past eleven o'clock when I got on board the *Discovery*, where I found no decisive plan had been adopted for our future proceedings. The restitution of the boat, and the recovery of the body of Captain Cook, were the objects which, on all hands, we agreed to insist on; and it was my opinion that some vigorous steps should be taken, in case the demand of them was not immediately complied with.

Though my feelings, on the death of a beloved and honoured friend, may be suspected to have had some share in this opinion, yet there were certainly other reasons, and those of the most serious kind, that had considerable weight with me. The confidence which their success in killing our chief and forcing us to quit the shore must naturally have inspired, and the advantage, however trifling, which they had obtained over us the preceding day, would, I had no doubt, encourage them to make some further dangerous attempts; and the more especially as they had little reason, from what they had hitherto seen, to dread the effects of our fire-arms. Indeed, contrary to the expectations of every one, this sort of weapon had produced no signs of terror in them. On our side, such was the condition of the ships, and the state of discipline amongst us, that, had a vigorous attack been made on us in the night, it would have been impossible to answer for the consequences. In these apprehensions, I was supported by the opinion of most of the officers on board; and nothing seemed to me so likely to encourage the natives to make the attempt, as the appearance of our being inclined to an accommodation, which



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*Poubo entertaining Captain Cook.*

*Fuelstedt in "Aquari & Fright. Newstorm Butts. 1223"*



they could only attribute to weakness or fear. In favour of more conciliatory measures, it was justly urged, that the mischief was done and irreparable; that the natives had a strong claim to our regard, on account of their former friendship and kindness, and the more especially as the late melancholy accident did not appear to have arisen from any premeditated design; that on the part of Terreeoboo, his ignorance of the theft, his readiness to accompany Captain Cook on board, and his having actually sent his two sons into the boat, must free him from the smallest degree of suspicion; that the conduct of his women and the Erees might easily be accounted for, from the apprehensions occasioned by the armed force with which Captain Cook came on shore and the hostile preparations in the bay, appearances so different from the terms of friendship and confidence in which both parties had hitherto lived, that the arming of the natives was evidently with a design to resist the attempt, which they had some reason to imagine would be made to carry off their king by force, and was naturally to be expected from a people full of affection and attachment to their chiefs.

To these motives of humanity, others of a prudential nature were added; that we were in want of water, and other refreshments, that our foremast would require six or eight days work, before it could be stopped, that the spring was advancing apace, and that the speedy prosecution of our next northern expedition ought now to be our sole object; that therefore to engage in a vindictive contest with the inhabitants might not only lay us under the imputation of unnecessary cruelty, but would occasion an unavoidable delay in the equipment of the ships. In this latter opinion Captain Clerke concurred; and though I was convinced that an early display of vigorous resentment would more effectually have answered every object both of prudence and humanity, I was not sorry that the measures I had recommended were rejected; for though the contemptuous be-

haviour of the natives, and their subsequent opposition to our necessary operations on shore, arising, I have no doubt, from a misconstruction of our lenity, compelled us at last to have recourse to violence in our own defence, yet I am not so sure that the circumstances of the case would, in the opinion of the world, have justified the use of force on our part in the first instance. Cautionary rigour is at all times invidious, and has this additional objection to it, that the severity of a preventive course, when it best succeeds, leaves its expediency the least apparent.

During the time we were thus engaged, in concerting some plan for our future conduct, a prodigious concourse of natives still kept possession of the shore; and some of them came off in canoes, and had the boldness to approach within pistol-shot of the ships, and to insult us by various marks of contempt and defiance. It was with great difficulty we could restrain the sailors from the use of their arms on these occasions; but as pacific measures had been resolved on, the canoes were suffered to return unmolested. In pursuance of this plan, it was determined that I should proceed toward the shore, with the boats of both ships, well manned and armed, with a view to bring the natives to a parley, and if possible to obtain a conference with some of the chiefs. If this attempt succeeded, I was to demand the dead bodies, and particularly that of Captain Cook; to threaten them with our vengeance in case of a refusal, but by no means to fire unless attacked, and not to land on any account whatever. These orders were delivered to me before the whole party, and in the most positive manner.

I left the ships about four o'clock in the afternoon; and as we approached the shore I perceived every indication of a hostile reception. The whole crowd of natives was in motion; the women and children retiring, the men putting on their war mats, and arming themselves with long spears and daggers. We also observed, that since the morning they had thrown up stone breast-works along the beach

where Captain Cook had landed, probably in expectation of an attack at that place; and, as soon as we were within reach, they began to throw stones at us with slings, but without doing any mischief. Concluding therefore that all attempts to bring them to a parley would be in vain, unless I first gave them some ground for mutual confidence, I ordered the armed boats to stop, and went on in the small boat alone, with a white flag in my hand; which, by a general cry of joy from the natives, I had the satisfaction to find was instantly understood. The women immediately returned from the side of the hill, whither they had retired, the men threw off their mats, and all sat down together by the water-side, extending their arms and inviting me to come on shore.

Though this behaviour was very expressive of a friendly disposition, yet I could not help entertaining some suspicions of its sincerity. But when I saw Kouah, with a boldness and assurance altogether unaccountable, swimming off toward the boat with a white flag in his hand, I thought it necessary to return this mark of confidence, and therefore received him into the boat, though armed; a circumstance which did not tend to lessen my suspicions. I must confess I had long harboured an unfavourable opinion of this man. The priests had always told us that he was of a malicious disposition, and no friend of ours; and the repeated detections of his fraud and treachery had convinced us of the truth of their representations. Add to all this, the shocking transactions of the morning, in which he was seen acting a principal part, made me feel the utmost horror at finding myself so near him; and as he came up to me with feigned tears, and embraced me, I was so distrustful of his intentions that I could not help taking hold of the point of the pahooah, which he held in his hand, and turning it from me. I told him that I had come to demand the body of Captain Cook, and to declare war against them unless it was instantly restored. He assured me this

should be done as soon as possible, and that he would go himself for that purpose ; and after begging of me a piece of iron, with much assurance, as if nothing extraordinary had happened, he leaped into the sea and swam ashore, calling out to his countrymen that we were all friends again. We waited near an hour, with great anxiety, for his return ; during which time, the rest of the boats had approached so near the shore as to enter into conversation with a party of the natives at some distance from us, by whom they were plainly given to understand, that the body had been cut to pieces and carried up the country ; but of this circumstance I was not informed till our return to the ships.

I began now to express some impatience at Koah's delay ; upon which the chiefs pressed me to come on shore, assuring me that if I would go myself to Terreeoboo, the body would certainly be restored to me. When they found they could not prevail on me to land, they attempted, under a pretence of wishing to converse with more ease, to decoy our boat among some rocks, where they would have had it in their power to cut us off from the rest. It was no difficult matter to see through these artifices, and I was therefore strongly inclined to break off all further communication with them, when a chief came to us, who was the particular friend of Captain Clerke and of the officers of the *Discovery*, on board which ship he had sailed when we last left the bay, intending to take his passage to Mowee. He told us that he came from Terreeoboo to acquaint us that the body was carried up the country, but that it should be brought to us the next morning. There appeared a great deal of sincerity in his manner ; and being asked if he told a falsehood, he hooked his two fore fingers together, which is understood amongst these islanders as the sign of truth, in the use of which they are very scrupulous.

As I was now at a loss in what manner to proceed, I sent Mr. Vancouver to acquaint Captain Clerke with all that



had passed; that my opinion was they meant not to keep their word with us, and were so far from being sorry at what had happened, that, on the contrary, they were full of spirits and confidence on account of their late success, and sought only to gain time till they could contrive some scheme for getting us into their power. Mr. Vancouver came back with orders for me to return on board; having first given the natives to understand, that if the body was not brought the next morning, the town should be destroyed. When they saw that we were going off, they endeavoured to provoke us by the most insulting and contemptuous gestures. Some of our people said they could distinguish several of the natives parading about in the clothes of our unfortunate comrades; and among them a chief brandishing Captain Cook's hanger, and a woman holding the scabbard; indeed, there can be no doubt but that our behaviour had given them a mean opinion of our courage, for they could have but little notion of the motives of humanity that directed it.

In consequence of the report I made to Captain Clerke, of what I conceived to be the present temper and disposition of the islanders, the most effectual measures were taken to guard against any attack they might make in the night. The boats were moored with top-chains, additional sentinels were posted on both ships, and guard-boats were stationed to row round them, in order to prevent the natives from cutting the cables. During the night we observed a prodigious number of lights on the hills, which made some of us imagine they were removing their effects back into the country, in consequence of our threats; but I rather believe them to have been the sacrifices that were performing on account of the war, in which they imagined themselves about to be engaged; and most probably the bodies of our slain countrymen were at that time burning. We afterwards saw fires of the same kind, as we passed the island of Morotoi, and which, we were told by some natives then

on board, were made on account of the war they had declared against a neighbouring island; and this agrees with what we learned amongst the Friendly and Society Isles, that, previous to any expedition against an enemy, the chiefs always endeavoured to animate and inflame the courage of the people by feasts and rejoicings in the night.

We remained the whole night undisturbed, except by the howlings and lamentations which were heard on shore; and early the next morning Koah came alongside the Resolution, with a present of cloth and a small pig, which he desired leave to present to me. I have mentioned before that I was supposed, by the natives, to be the son of Captain Cook, and as he in his life-time had always suffered them to believe it, I was probably considered as the chief after his death. As soon as I came on deck, I questioned him about the body, and on his returning me nothing but evasive answers, I refused to accept his presents, and was going to dismiss him with some expressions of anger and resentment, had not Captain Clerke, judging it best at all events to keep up the appearance of friendship, thought it more proper that he should be treated with the usual respect. This treacherous fellow came frequently to us, during the course of the forenoon, with some trifling present or other; and as I always observed him eyeing every part of the ship with great attention, I took care he should see we were well prepared for our defence. He was exceedingly urgent, both with Captain Clerke and myself, to go on shore, laying all the blame of the detention of the bodies on the other chiefs, and assuring us that every thing might be settled to our satisfaction by a personal interview with Terreebooo. However his conduct was too suspicious to make it prudent to comply with this request, and indeed a fact came afterward to our knowledge, which proved the entire falsehood of his pretences; for we were told, that immediately after the action in which Captain Cook was killed, the old king had retired to a cave in the steep part of the mountain that

hangs over the bay, which was accessible only by the help of ropes, and where he remained for many days, having his victuals let down to him by cords.

When Koah returned from the ships, we could perceive that his countrymen, who had been collected, by break of day, in vast crowds on the shore, thronged about him with great eagerness, as if to learn the intelligence he had acquired, and what was to be done in consequence of it. It is very probable that they expected we should attempt to put our threats in execution, and they seemed fully resolved to stand their ground. During the whole morning we heard conchs blowing in different parts of the coast, large parties were seen marching over the hills, and in short appearances were so alarming that we carried out a stream anchor, to enable us to haul the ship abreast of the town, in case of an attack, and stationed boats off the north point of the bay, to prevent a surprize from that quarter. The breach of their engagement to restore the bodies of the slain, and the warlike posture in which they at this time appeared, occasioned fresh debates amongst us concerning the measures next to be pursued. It was at last determined that nothing should be suffered to interfere with the repair of the mast and the preparations for our departure, but that we should, nevertheless, continue our negotiations for the recovery of the bodies. The greater part of this day was spent in getting the fore-mast in a proper situation on deck, for the carpenters to work upon it, and in making the necessary alterations in the commissions of the officers. The command of the expedition having devolved on Capt. Clerke, he removed on board the *Resolution*, appointed Lieut. Gore to be captain of the *Discovery*, and promoted Mr. Harvey, a midshipman, who had been with Capt. Cook in his two last voyages, to the vacant lieutenantcy. During the whole day we met with no interruption from the natives, and at night the launch was again moored with a top-chain, and guard-boats stationed round both ships as before.

About eight o'clock, it being very dark, a canoe was heard paddling toward the ship; and as soon as it was seen both the sentinels on deck fired into it. There were two persons in the canoe, and they immediately roared out "Tinnee," which was the way in which they pronounced my name, and said they were friends, and had something for me belonging to Capt. Cook. When they came on board they threw themselves at our feet, and appeared exceedingly frightened. Luckily neither of them was hurt, notwithstanding the balls of both pieces went through the canoe. One of them was the person, whom I have before mentioned, under the name of the Taboo man, who constantly attended Capt. Cook with the circumstances of ceremony I have already described, and who, though a man of rank in the island, could scarcely be hindered from performing for him the lowest offices of a menial servant. After lamenting, with abundance of tears, the loss of the *Orono*, he told us that he had brought us a part of his body. He then presented to us a small bundle wrapped up in cloth, which he brought under his arm, and it is impossible to describe the horror which seized us, on finding in it a piece of human flesh, about nine or ten pounds weight. This, he said, was all that remained of the body; that the rest was cut to pieces, and burnt; but that the head and all the bones, except what belonged to the trunk, were in the possession of Terreeoboo and the other Erees; that what we saw had been allotted to Kaoo, the chief of the priests, to be made use of in some religious ceremony, and that he had sent it as a proof of his innocence and attachment to us.

This afforded an opportunity of informing ourselves whether they were cannibals; and we did not neglect it. We first tried, by many indirect questions, put to each of them apart, to learn in what manner the rest of the bodies had been disposed of; and finding them very constant in one story, that after the flesh had been cut off, it was all burnt, we at last put the direct question, Whether they had not

eat some of it? They immediately shewed as much horror at the idea, as an European would have done, and asked, very naturally, if that was the custom amongst us? They afterward asked us, with great earnestness and apparent apprehension, "When the Orono would come again, and what he would do to them on his return?" The same inquiry was frequently made afterward by others, and this idea agrees with the general tenour of their conduct toward him, which shewed that they considered him as a being of a superior nature. We pressed our two friendly visitors to remain on board till morning, but in vain. They told us that if this transaction should come to the knowledge of the king or chiefs, it might be attended with the most fatal consequences to their whole society; in order to prevent which, they had been obliged to come off to us in the dark, and that the same precaution would be necessary in returning on shore. They informed us farther, that the chiefs were eager to revenge the death of their countrymen, and particularly cautioned us against trusting Koah, who, they said, was our mortal and implacable enemy, and desired nothing more ardently, than an opportunity of fighting with us, to which the blowing of the conchs we had heard in the morning was a challenge. We learned from these men, that seventeen of their countrymen were killed in the first action at Kowrowa, of whom five were chiefs; and that Kaneena and his brother, our very particular friends, were unfortunately of that number. Eight, they said, were killed at the observatory, three of whom were also of the first rank. About eleven o'clock our two friends left us, and took the precaution to desire that our guard-boat might attend them till they had passed the Discovery, lest they should again be fired upon, which might alarm their countrymen on shore and expose them to the danger of being discovered. This request was complied with, and we had the satisfaction to find that they got safe and undiscovered to land.

During the remainder of the night, we heard the same loud howling and lamentations as in the preceding one. Early in the morning, we received another visit from Koah. I must confess I was a little piqued to find, that notwithstanding the most evident marks of treachery in his conduct, and the positive testimony of our friends the priests, he should still be permitted to carry on the same farce, and to make us at least appear to be the dupes of his hypocrisy. Indeed our situation was become extremely awkward and unpromising, none of the purposes for which this pacific course of proceeding had been adopted, having hitherto been in the least forwarded by it. No satisfactory answer whatever had been given to our demands; we did not seem at all advanced towards a reconciliation with the Islanders; they still kept in force on the shore, as if determined to resist any attempts we might make to land; and yet the attempt was become absolutely necessary, as the completing our supply of water would not admit of any longer delay.

However, it must be observed, in justice to the conduct of Capt. Clerke, that it was very probable, from the great numbers of the natives, and from the resolution with which they seemed to expect us, an attack could not have been made without some danger, and that the loss of a very few men might have been severely felt by us, during the remaining course of our voyage; whereas the delaying the execution of our threats, though on the one hand it lessened their opinion of our prowess, had the effect of causing them to disperse on the other; for this day, about noon, finding us persist in our inactivity, great bodies of them, after blowing their conchs, and using every mode of defiance, marched off, over the hills, and never appeared afterward. Those however who remained, were not the less daring and insolent; one man had the audacity to come within musket-shot a-head of the ship, and after slinging several stones at us, he waved Capt. Cook's hat over his head, whilst his countrymen on shore were exulting and encouraging his



boldness. Our people were all in a flame at this insult, and coming in a body on the quarter-deck, begged they might no longer be obliged to put up with these repeated provocations, and requested me to obtain permission for them, from Capt. Clerke, to avail themselves of the first fair occasion of revenging the death of their commander. On acquainting him with what was passing, he gave orders for some of the great guns to be fired at the natives on shore; and promised the crew, that if they should meet with any molestation at the watering-place the next day, they should then be left at liberty to chastise them.

It is somewhat remarkable, that before we could bring our guns to bear, the islanders had suspected our intentions from the stir they saw in the ship, and had retired behind their houses and walls; we were therefore obliged to fire, in some measure at random; notwithstanding which, our shot produced all the effects that could have been desired; for, soon after, we saw Koah paddling towards us with extreme haste, and on his arrival we learned that some people had been killed, and amongst the rest, Maiha-maiha, a principal chief, and a near relation of the king. Soon after the arrival of Koah, two boys swam off from the morai toward the ships, having each a long spear in his hand, and after they had approached pretty near, they began to chant a song in a very solemn manner, the subject of which, from their often mentioning the word Orono, and pointing to the village where Capt. Cook was killed, we concluded to be the late calamitous disaster. Having sung in a plaintive strain for about twelve or fifteen minutes, during the whole of which time they remained in the water, they went on board the Discovery and delivered their spears, and after making a short stay, returned on shore. Who sent them, or what was the object of this ceremony, we were never able to learn.

At night, the usual precautions were taken for the security of the ships; and as soon as it was dark, our two friends, who had visited us the night before, came off again. They

assured us, that though the effects of our great guns this afternoon had terrified the chiefs exceedingly, they had by no means laid aside their hostile intentions, and advised us to be on our guard. The next morning, the boats of both ships were sent ashore for water, and the *Discovery* was warped close to the beach, in order to cover that service. We soon found, that the intelligence which the priests had sent us, was not without foundation, and that the natives were resolved to take every opportunity of annoying us, when it could be done without much risk.

Throughout all this group of islands, the villages, for the most part, are situated near the sea, and the adjacent ground is enclosed with stone walls, about three feet high; these, we at first imagined, were intended for the division of property, but we now discovered that they served, and probably were principally designed, for a defence against invasion. They consist of loose stones, and the inhabitants are very dexterous in shifting them with great quickness to such situations as the direction of the attack may require. In the sides of the mountain, which hangs over the bay, they have also little holes or caves of considerable depth, the entrance of which is secured by a fence of the same kind. From behind these defences the natives kept perpetually harassing our waterers with stones; nor could the small force we had on shore, with the advantage of muskets, compel them to retreat. In this exposed situation, our people were so taken up in attending to their own safety, that they employed the whole forenoon in filling only one ton of water. As it was therefore impossible to perform this service till their assailants were driven to a greater distance, the *Discovery* was ordered to dislodge them with her great guns, which being effected by a few discharges, the men landed without molestation. However the natives soon after made their appearance again, in their usual mode of attack, and it was now found absolutely necessary to burn down some straggling houses, near the well, behind which they had taken shelter;



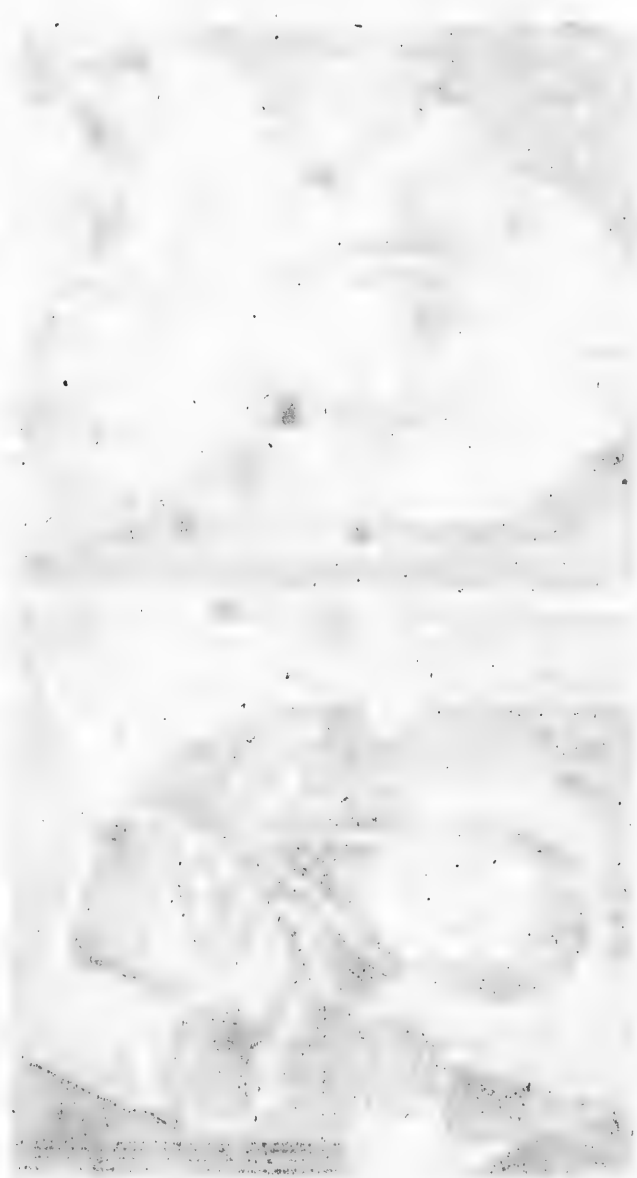
**CAPT. PARRY.**



**KING POULANHO.**

*Engraved by L. E. Broad*

*Published by Jacques & Wright, Newbury-on-Parish, 1824.*



in executing these orders, I am sorry to add that our people were hurried into acts of unnecessary cruelty and devastation. Something ought certainly to be allowed to their resentment of the repeated insults and contemptuous behaviour of the islanders, and to the natural desire of revenging the loss of their commander ; but at the same time their conduct served strongly to convince me that the utmost precaution is necessary in trusting, though but for a moment, the discretionary use of arms in the hands of private seamen or soldiers on such occasions. The rigour of discipline, and the habits of obedience, by which their force is kept directed to its proper objects, lead them naturally enough to conceive, that whatever they have the power, they have also the right to do. Actual disobedience being almost the only crime for which they are accustomed to expect punishment, they learn to consider it as the only measure of right and wrong, and hence are apt to conclude, that what they can do with impunity they may do with justice and honour ; so that the feelings of humanity, which are inseparable from us all, and that generosity toward an unresisting enemy, which at other times is the distinguishing mark of brave men, become but weak restraints to the exercise of violence, when opposed to the desire they naturally have of shewing their own independence and power.

I have already mentioned, that orders had been given to burn only a few straggling huts, which afforded shelter to the natives ; we were therefore a good deal surprised to see the whole village on fire ; and before a boat that was sent to stop the progress of the mischief could reach the shore, the houses of our old and constant friends, the priests, were all in flames. I cannot enough lament the illness, that confined me on board this day ; the priests had always been under my protection, and unluckily the officers who were then on duty having been seldom on shore at the morai, were not much acquainted with the circumstances of the place. Had I been present myself, I might probably have been the

means of saving their little society from destruction. Several of the natives were shot in making their escape from the flames, and our people cut off the heads of two of them, and brought them on board. The fate of one poor islander was much lamented by us all; as he was coming to the well for water, he was shot at by one of the marines; the ball struck his calibash, which he immediately threw from him, and fled. He was pursued into one of the caves I have before described, and no lion could have defended his den with greater courage and fierceness, till at last, after having kept two of our people at bay for a considerable time, he expired covered with wounds. It was this accident that first brought us acquainted with the use of these caverns. At this time, an elderly man was taken prisoner, bound, and sent on board in the same boat with the heads of his two countrymen. I never saw horror so strongly pictured as in the face of this man, nor so violent a transition to extravagant joy as when he was untied, and told he might go away in safety. He shewed us he did not want gratitude, as he frequently afterward returned with presents of provisions and also did us other services.

Soon after the village was destroyed, we saw a man coming down the hill, attended by fifteen or twenty boys, holding pieces of white cloth, green boughs, plantains, &c. in their hands. I know not how it happened, that this peaceful embassy, as soon as they were within reach, received the fire of a party of our men; this however did not stop them; they continued their procession, and the officer on duty came up in time to prevent a second discharge. As they approached nearer, it was found to be our much-esteemed friend Kairekeea, who had fled on our first setting fire to the village, and had now returned, and desired to be sent on board the *Resolution*. When he arrived, we found him exceedingly grave and thoughtful. We endeavoured to make him understand the necessity we were under of setting fire to the village, by which his house and those of his



brethren were unintentionally consumed. He expostulated a little with us on our want of friendship, and on our ingratitude; and indeed it was not till now that we learnt the whole extent of the injury we had done them. He told us, that relying on the promises I had made them, and on the assurances they had afterward received from the men, who had brought us the remains of Capt. Cook, they had not removed their effects back into the country, with the rest of the inhabitants, but had put every thing that was valuable of their own, as well as what they had collected from us, into a house close to the morai, where they had the mortification to see it all set on fire by ourselves. On coming on board, he had seen the heads of his countrymen lying on the deck, at which he was exceedingly shocked, and desired, with great earnestness, that they might be thrown overboard. This request Capt. Clerke instantly ordered to be complied with.

In the evening, the watering party returned on board, having met with no farther interruption. We passed a gloomy night, the cries and lamentations we heard on shore being far more dreadful than ever; our only consolation was, the hope that we should have no occasion, in future, for a repetition of such severities. It seemed very extraordinary, that amidst all these disturbances, the women of the island, who were on board, never offered to leave us, nor discovered the smallest apprehensions either for themselves or their friends ashore. So entirely unconcerned did they appear, that some of them, who were on deck when the town was in flames, seemed to admire the sight, and frequently cried out that it was maitai, or very fine. The next morning, Koah came off as usual to the ships. As there existed no longer any necessity for keeping terms with him, I was allowed to have my own way; when he approached toward the side of the ship, singing a song, and offering me a hog and some plantains, I ordered him to keep off, cautioning him never to appear again without Capt. Cook's bones, lest

his life should pay the forfeit of his continued breach of promise. He did not appear much mortified with this reception, but went immediately on shore, and joined a party of his countrymen, who were pelting the waterers with stones. The body of the young man who had been killed the day before, was found this morning, lying at the entrance of the cave, and some of our people went and threw a mat over it, soon after which they saw some men carrying him off on their shoulders, and could hear them singing, as they marched, a mournful song.

The natives being at last convinced that it was not the want of ability to punish them, which had hitherto made us tolerate their provocations, desisted from giving us any farther molestation; and in the evening, a chief called Eappo, who had seldom visited us, but whom we knew to be a man of the very first consequence, came with presents from Terreeoboo to sue for peace. These presents were received, and he was dismissed with the same answer which had before been given, that until the remains of Capt. Cook should be restored, no peace would be granted. We learned from this person, that the flesh of all the bodies of our people, together with the bones of the trunks, had been burnt; that the limb bones of the marines had been divided amongst the inferior chiefs; and that those of Capt. Cook had been disposed of in the following manner; the head, to a great chief called Kahoo-opeon, the hair to Maiha-maiha, and the legs, thighs, and arms to Terreeoboo. After it was dark, many of the inhabitants came off with roots and other vegetables, and we also received two large presents of the same articles from Kaireekea.

The 19th was chiefly taken up in sending and receiving the messages which passed between Capt. Clerke and Terreeoboo. Eappo was very pressing that one of our officers should go on shore, and in the mean time offered to remain as an hostage on board; this request, however, it was not thought proper to comply with, and he left us with a promise

of bringing the bones the next day. At the beach, the waterers did not meet with the least opposition from the natives; who, notwithstanding our cautious behaviour, came amongst us again, without the smallest appearance of diffidence or apprehension.

Early in the morning of the 20th, we had the satisfaction of getting the foremast stepped. It was an operation attended with great difficulty, and some danger; our ropes being so exceedingly rotten, that the purchase gave way several times.

Between ten and eleven o'clock, we saw a great number of people descending the hill, which is over the beach, in a kind of procession, each man carrying a sugar-cane or two on his shoulders, and bread-fruit, taro, and plantains in his hand. They were preceded by two drummers who, when they came to the water-side, sat down by a white flag, and began to beat their drums, while those who had followed them advanced one by one, and having deposited the presents they had brought, retired in the same order. Soon after, Eappo came in sight, in his long feathered cloak, bearing something with great solemnity in his hands, and having placed himself on a rock, he made signs for a boat to be sent to him.

Capt. Clerk, conjecturing that he had brought the bones of Capt. Cook, which proved to be the fact, went himself in the pinnace to receive them, and ordered me to attend him in the cutter. When we arrived at the beach, Eappo came into the pinnace, and delivered to the captain the bones wrapped up in a large quantity of fine new cloth, and covered with a spotted cloak of black and white feathers. He afterwards attended us to the Resolution, but could not be prevailed upon to go on board; probably not choosing, from a sense of decency, to be present at the opening of the bundle. We found in it both the hands of Capt. Cook entire, which were well known from a remarkable scar on one of them, that divided the thumb from the fore-finger, the

whole length of the metacarpal bone ; the skull, but with the scalp separated from it, and the bones that form the face wanting ; the scalp, with the hair upon it cut short, and the ears adhering to it ; the bones of both arms, with the skin of the fore-arms hanging to them ; the thigh and leg bones joined together, but without the feet. The ligaments of the joints were entire, and the whole bore evident marks of having been in the fire, except the hands, which had the flesh left upon them, and were cut in several places, and crammed with salt, apparently with an intention of preserving them. The scalp had a cut in the back part of it, but the skull was free from any fracture. The lower jaw and feet, which were wanting, Eappo told us, had been seized by different chiefs, and that Terreoboo was using every means to recover them.

The next morning Eappo and the king's son came on board, and brought with them the remaining bones of Capt. Cook, the barrels of his gun, his shoes, and some of his rifles that belonged to him. Eappo took great pains to convince us that Terreoboo, Maiha-maiah, and himself were most heartily desirous of peace ; that they had given us the most convincing proof of it in their power, and that they had been prevented from giving it sooner by the other chiefs, many of whom were still our enemies. He lamented, with the greatest sorrow, the death of six chiefs we had killed, some of whom, he said, were amongst our best friends. The cutter, he told us, was taken away by Pareea's people, very probably in revenge for the blow that had been given him, and that it had been broken up the next day. The arms of the marines, which we had also demanded, he assured us had been carried off by the common people, and were irrecoverable ; the bones of the chief alone having been preserved, as belonging to Terreoboo and the Erees.

Nothing now remained but to perform the last offices to our great and unfortunate commander. Eappo was dismissed with orders to taboo all the bay ; and in the afternoon,

the bones having been put into a coffin, and the service read over them, they were committed to the deep with the usual military honours. What our feelings were on this occasion I leave the world to conceive, those who were present know that it is not in my power to express them.

During the forenoon of the 22nd, not a canoe was seen paddling in the bay, the taboo which Eappo had laid on it the day before, at our request, not being yet taken off. At length Eappo came off to us; we assured him that we were now entirely satisfied, and that as the Orono was buried, all remembrance of what had passed was buried with him. We afterward desired him to take off the taboo, and to make it known, that the people might bring their provisions as usual. The ships were soon surrounded with canoes, and many of the chiefs came on board, expressing great sorrow at what had happened, and their satisfaction at our reconciliation. Several of our friends, who did not visit us, sent presents of large hogs and other provisions. Amongst the rest came the old and treacherous Koah, but was refused admittance. As we had now every thing ready for sea, Capt. Clerke imagining, that if the news of our proceedings should reach the islands to leeward before us, it might have a bad effect, gave orders to unmoor. About eight in the evening we dismissed all the natives, and Eappo and the friendly Kaireekkea took an affectionate leave of us. We immediately weighed, and stood out of the bay. The natives were collected on the shore in great numbers; and, as we passed along, received our last farewells with every mark of affection and goodwill.

We got clear of the land about ten o'clock, and hoisting in the boats, stood to the northward, with an intention of searching for a harbour on the south-east side of Mowee, which we had heard frequently mentioned by the natives. The next morning we found ourselves driven to leeward by a heavy swell from the north-east, and a fresh gale springing up from the same quarter, carried us still farther to the

westward. At midnight we tacked, and stood to the south for four hours, in order to keep clear of the land; and, at day-break, we found ourselves standing toward a small barren island called Tahoorowa, which lies seven or eight miles to the south-west of Mowee. All prospect of examining more nearly the south-east parts of Mowee being now destroyed, we bore away and ran along the south-east side of Tahoorowa. As we were steering close round its western extremity, with an intention of fetching the west side of Mowee, we suddenly shoaled our water, and observed the sea breaking on some detached rocks almost right a-head. This obliged us to keep away a league and a half, when we again steered to the northward, and after passing over a bank, with nineteen fathoms water, stood for a passage between Mowee and an island called Ranai. At noon the latitude was, by observation,  $20^{\circ} 42'$  north, and the longitude  $203^{\circ} 22'$  east. Our longitude was accurately deduced from observations made by the time-keeper before and after noon, compared with the longitude found by a great many distances of the moon from the sun and stars, which were also observed the same day.

In the afternoon, the weather being calm, with light airs from the west, we stood on to the north-north-west; but at sun-set, observing a shoal, which appeared to stretch to a considerable distance from the west point of Mowee, toward the middle of the passage, and the weather being unsettled, we tacked and stood toward the south. The south-west side of this island, which we now had passed without being able to get near the shore, forms the same distant view with the north-east, as seen on our return from the north, in November, 1779; the mountainous parts, which are connected by a low flat isthmus, appearing at first like two separate islands. This deception continued on the south-west side, till we approached within eight or ten leagues of the coast, which bending inward to a great depth, formed a fine capacious bay. The westernmost point, off which the shoal we



have just mentioned runs, is made remarkable by a small hillock, to the southward of which there is a fine sandy bay, with several huts on the shore, and a number of cocoa-nut trees growing about them.

During the course of the day we were visited by several of the natives, who came off to sell provisions; and we soon found that they had heard of our late unfortunate transactions at Owhyhee. They were very curious to learn the particulars from a woman who had concealed herself on board the *Resolution*, in order to take her passage to Atooi; inquiring eagerly after Pareea and some other chiefs, and appearing much shocked at the death of Kaneena and his brother. We had, however, the satisfaction to find that, in whatever light the woman might have represented this business, it had no bad effect on their behaviour, which was remarkably civil and submissive.

On the 28th, we arrived at Atooi; it being too late to run for the road on the south-west side of the island, where we had been the last year, we passed the night in plying on and off, and at nine the next morning, came to an anchor in twenty-five fathoms water, and moored with the best bower in thirty-eight fathoms, the bluff-head on the west side of the village, bearing north-east by north three-quarters east, two miles distant; the extremes of the island, north-west by west three-quarters west, and south-east by east half east; the island Onecheow west by south half west. We had no sooner anchored in our old station, than several canoes came along-side of us; but we could observe that they did not welcome us with the same cordiality in their manner, and satisfaction in their countenances, as when we were here before. As soon as they got on board, one of the men began to tell us, that we had left a disorder amongst their women, of which several persons of both sexes had died. He was himself afflicted with the disease, and gave a very full and minute account of the various symptoms with which it had been attended. As there was not the slightest

appearance of that disorder amongst them on our first arrival; I am afraid that we were the authors of this irreparable mischief. Our principal object here was to water the ships with the utmost expedition; and I was sent on shore early in the afternoon, with the pinnace and launch laden with casks. The gunner of the *Resolution* accompanied me to trade for provisions; and we had a guard of five marines. We found a considerable number of people collected upon the beach, who received us at first with great kindness; but as soon as we had got the casks on shore, began to be exceedingly troublesome. Former experience having taught me how difficult it was to repress this disposition, without having recourse to the authority of their chiefs, I was very sorry to find that they were all at another part of the island. Indeed we soon felt the want of their assistance; for it was with great difficulty I was able to form a circle, according to our usual practice, for the convenience and security of the trading party; and had no sooner done it, and posted a guard to keep off the crowd, than I saw a man laying hold of the bayonet of one of the soldiers' muskets, and endeavouring, with all his force, to wrench it out of his hand. On my coming up to them the native let go his hold and retired; but returned in a moment, with a spear in one hand and a dagger in the other: and his countrymen had much ado to restrain him from trying his prowess with the soldier. This fray was occasioned by the latter's having given the man a slight prick with his bayonet, in order to make him keep without the line. I now perceived that our situation required great circumspection and management; and accordingly gave the strictest orders that no one should fire, nor have recourse to any other act of violence, without positive commands. As soon as I had given these directions, I was called to the assistance of the watering party, where I found the natives equally inclined to mischief. They had demanded from our people a large hatchet for every cask of water; and this not being complied with, they would not suffer the

sailors to roll them down to the boats. I had no sooner joined them than one of the natives advanced up to me, with great insolence, and made the same claim. I told him that, as a friend, I was very willing to present him with a hatchet, but that I should certainly carry off the water, without paying any thing for it; and I immediately ordered the pinnace men to proceed in their business, and called three marines from the traders to protect them.

Though this shew of spirit succeeded so far as to make the natives desist from any open attempt to interrupt us, they still continued to behave in the most teasing and provoking manner. Whilst some of them, under pretence of assisting the men in rolling down the casks, turned them out of their course, and gave them a wrong direction, others were stealing the hats from off the sailors' heads, pulling them backward by their clothes, or tripping up their heels; the whole crowd all this time shouting and laughing with a strange mixture of childishness and malice. They afterward found means to steal the cooper's bucket, and took away his bag by force; but the objects they were most eager to possess themselves of were the muskets of the marines, who were every instant complaining of their attempts to force them out of their hands. Though they continued, for the most part, to pay great deference and respect to me, yet they did not suffer me to escape without contributing my share to their stock of plunder. One of them came up to me with a familiar air, and with great management diverted my attention, whilst another, wrenching the hanger which I held carelessly in my hand from me, ran off with it like lightning.

It was in vain to think of repelling this insolence by force; guarding therefore against its effects, in the best manner we were able, we had nothing to do but to submit patiently to it. My apprehensions were, however, a little alarmed by the information I soon after received from the serjeant of marines, who told me that, turning suddenly round, he saw

a man behind me holding a dagger in the position of striking. In this he might possibly be mistaken ; yet our situation was certainly alarming and critical, and the smallest error on our side might have been fatal to us. As our people were separated into three small parties, one at the lake filling casks, another rolling them down to the shore, and the third at some distance purchasing provisions, it had once occurred to me, that it might be proper to collect them altogether, and to execute and protect one duty at a time. But on second thoughts, I judged it more advisable to let them continue as they were. In case of a real attack, our whole force, however advantageously disposed, could have made but a poor resistance. On the other hand, I thought it of some consequence to shew the natives that we were under no fears ; and, what was still more material, the crowd was by this means kept divided, and a considerable part of them fully employed in bartering provisions.

It is probable that their dread of the effects of our arms was the principal cause of their backwardness in attacking us ; and indeed the confidence we appeared to place in this advantage, by opposing only five marines to their whole force, must have raised in them a very high idea of our superiority. It was our business to keep up this opinion as much as possible ; and in justice to the whole party, I must observe, that no men could possibly behave better, for the purpose of strengthening these impressions. Whatever could be taken in jest, they bore with the utmost temper and patience ; and whenever any serious attempt was made to interrupt them, they opposed it with bold looks and menaces. By this management we succeeded so far as to get all the casks down to the water side without any material accident.

While we were getting them into the launch, the natives perceiving the opportunity of plundering would soon be over, became every moment more daring and insolent. On this occasion I was indebted to the serjeant of marines for suggesting to me the advantage that would arise from send-

ing off his party first into the boats, by which means the muskets of the soldiers, which, as I have already mentioned, were the objects the islanders had principally in view, would be removed out of their reach ; and in case of an attack, the marines themselves might be employed more effectually in our defence than if they were on shore.

We had now got every thing into the boats, and only Mr. Anderson the gunner, a seaman of the boat's crew and myself, remained on shore. As the pinnace lay beyond the surf, through which we were obliged to swim, I told them to make the best of their way to it, and that I should follow them. With this order I was surprised to find them both refuse to comply ; and the consequence was a contest among us who should be the last on shore. It seems that some hasty words I had just before used to the sailor, which he thought reflected on his courage, was the cause of this odd fancy in him ; and the old gunner, finding a point of honour started, thought he could not well avoid taking a part in it. In this ridiculous situation we might have remained some time, had not our dispute been soon settled by the stones that began to fly about us, and by the cries of our people from the boats to make haste, as the natives were following us into the water with clubs and spears. I reached the side of the pinnace first, and finding Mr. Anderson was at some distance behind, and not yet entirely out of danger I called out to the marines to fire one musket. In the hurry of executing my orders, they fired two ; and when I had got into the boat I saw the natives running away, and one man, with a woman sitting by him, left behing on the beach. The man made several attempts to rise without being able ; and it was with much regret, I perceived him to be wounded in the groin. The natives soon after returned, and surrounded the wounded man, brandishing their spears and daggers at us, with an air of threatening and defiance, but before we reached the ships, we saw some persons, whom

we supposed to be chiefs, now arrived, driving them away from the shore.

During our absence, Capt. Clerke had been under the greatest anxiety for our safety. And these apprehensions were considerably increased, from his having entirely mistaken the drift of a conversation he had held with some natives who had been on board. The frequent mention of the name of Capt. Cook, with other strong and circumstantial descriptions of death and destruction, made him conclude that the knowledge of the unfortunate events at Owhyhee had reached them, and that these were what they alluded to; whereas all they had in view was, to make known to him the wars that had arisen in consequence of the goats that Capt. Cook had left at Oneeheow, and the slaughter of the poor goats themselves, during the struggle for the property of them. Capt. Clerke applying this earnestness of conversation and these terrible representations to our calamitous transactions at Owhyhee, and to an indication of revenge, kept his telescope fixed upon us, and the moment he saw the smoke of the muskets, ordered the boats to be manned and armed and to put off to our assistance.

The next morning I was again ordered on shore, with the watering party. The risk we had run the preceding day, determined Capt. Clerke to send a considerable force from both ships for our guard, amounting in all to forty men under arms. This precaution, however, was now unnecessary; for we found the beach left entirely to ourselves, and the ground between the landing-place and the lake tabooed with small white flags. We concluded, from this appearance, that some of the chiefs had certainly visited this quarter, and that not being able to stay, they had kindly and considerately taken this step for our greater security and convenience. We saw several men armed with long spears and daggers, on the other side of the river, on our right, but they did not offer to give us the least molestation. Their women came over, and sat down on the banks close



by us, and at noon we prevailed on some of the men to bring hogs and roots for our people, and to dress them for us. As soon as we had left the beach, they came down to the sea-side, and one of them threw a stone at us; but his conduct seeming to be highly disapproved of by all the rest, we did not think it proper to shew any resentment.

The next day we completed our watering, without meeting with any material difficulty. On our return to the ships, we found that several chiefs had been on board, and had made excuses for the behaviour of their countrymen, attributing their riotous conduct to the quarrels which subsisted at that time amongst the principal people of the island, and which had occasioned a general want of order and subordination amongst them. The government of Atooi was in dispute between Toneoneo, who had the supreme power when we were here last year, and a boy named Teavee. They are both, by different fathers, the grandsons of Perreorannee, a son of Woahoo, who had given the government of Atooi to the former, and that of Oneeheow to the latter. The quarrel had arisen about the goats we had left at Oneeheow the last year; the right of property in which was claimed by Toneoneo, on the pretence of that island's being a dependency of his. The friends of Teavee insisting on the right of possession, both parties prepared to maintain their pretensions by force; and a few days before our arrival, a battle had been fought, in which Toneoneo had been worsted. The consequence of this victory was likely to affect Toneoneo in a much deeper manner than in the loss of the objects in dispute; for the mother of Teavee having married a second husband, who was a chief of Atooi, and at the head of a powerful faction there, he thought that the present opportunity was not to be neglected, of driving Toneoneo entirely out of the island, and of advancing his son-in-law to the government. The goats, which had increased to six, and would probably in a few years have stocked all these islands, were destroyed in the contest.

On the 4th, the mother and sister of the young prince and his father-in-law, with many other chiefs of that party, came on board the *Resolution*, and made several curious and valuable presents to Capt. Clerke. Amongst the former, were some fish-hooks, which they assured us were made of the bones of our old friend Terresoboo's father, who had been killed in an unsuccessful descent upon the island of Woahoo; and a fly-flap, presented to him by the prince's sister, the handle of which was a human bone, that had been given her as a trophy by her father-in-law. Young Teavee was not of the company, being engaged, as we were told, in performing some religious ceremonies, in consequence of the victory he had obtained, which were to last twenty days.

This and the two following days were employed on shore, in completing the *Discovery's* water; and the carpenters were busy on board, in caulking the ships, and in making other preparations for our next cruise. The natives desisted from giving us any further disturbance; and we procured from them a plentiful supply of pork and vegetables. At this time, an Indian brought a piece of iron on board the *Discovery*, to be fashioned into the shape of a pahooah. It was carefully examined both by the officers and men, and appeared to be the bolt of some large ship-timbers. They were not able to discover to what nation it belonged; but from the pale colour of the iron, and its not corresponding in shape to our bolts, they concluded it certainly was not English. This led them to make a strict enquiry of the native, when and where he got it; and, if they comprehended him right, it had been taken out of a piece of timber, larger than the cable bit, to which he pointed. This piece of wood, they further understood from him, to have been driven upon their island since we were here in January 1778.

On the 7th, we were surprized with a visit from Toneonco. When he heard the dowager princess was in the ship, it was with great difficulty we could prevail on him to come on

board, not from any apprehension that he appeared to entertain of his safety, but from an unwillingness to see her. Their meeting was with sulky and lowering looks on both sides. He staid but a short time, and seemed much dejected; but we remarked, with some surprise, that the women, both at his coming and going away, prostrated themselves before him; and that he was treated by all the natives on board with the respect usually paid to those of his rank. Indeed, it must appear somewhat extraordinary, that a person who was at this time in a state of hostility with Teavee's party, and was even prepared for another battle, should trust himself almost alone within the power of his enemies. It is therefore to be observed, that the civil dissensions, which are very frequent throughout all the South Sea Islands, seem to be carried on without much acrimony or blood-shed; and that the deposed governor still continues to enjoy the rank of an Eree, and is left to make use of such means as may arise for the regaining his lost consequence. As we are now about to take our final leave of the Sandwich Islands, it will not be improper to introduce here some general account of their situation and natural history, and of the manners and customs of the inhabitants.

This subject has indeed been, in some measure, preoccupied by persons far more capable of doing it justice than I can pretend to be. Had Capt. Cook and Mr. Anderson lived to avail themselves of the advantages which we enjoyed by a return to these islands, it cannot be questioned, that the public would have derived much additional information from the skill and diligence of two such accurate observers. The reader will therefore lament with me our common misfortune, which hath deprived him of the labours of such superior abilities, and imposed on me the task of presenting him with the best supplementary account the various duties of my station permitted me to furnish.

The group consists of eleven islands, extending in lat. from  $18^{\circ} 54'$  to  $22^{\circ} 15'$  north and in long. from  $199^{\circ} 36'$  to

205° 6' east. They are called by the natives, 1. Owhyhee. 2. Mowee. 3. Ranai, or Oranai. 4. Morotinniee, or Morokinnee. 5. Kahowrowee, or Tahoorowa. 6. Morotoi, or Morokoi. 7. Woahoo, or Oahoo. 8. Atooi, Atowi, or Towi, and sometimes Kowi. 9. Neeheehow, or Oneeheow. 10. Oreehoua, or Reehoua; and, 11. Tahooraa; and are all inhabited, excepting Morotinniee and Tahooraa. Besides the islands above enumerated, we were told by the Indians, that there is another called MODOOPAPAPA, or KOMODOOPAPAPA, lying to the west-south-west of Tahooraa, which is low and sandy, and visited only for the purpose of catching turtle and sea-fowl; and, as I could never learn that they knew of any others, it is probable that none exist in their neighbourhood. They were named by Capt. Cook the Sandwich Islands, in honour of the Earl of Sandwich, under whose administration he had enriched geography with so many splendid and important discoveries; a tribute justly due to that noble person for the liberal support these voyages derived from his power, in whatever could extend their utility, or promote their success; for the zeal with which he seconded the views of that great navigator; and, if I may be allowed to add the voice of private gratitude, for the generous protection, which, since the death of their unfortunate commander, he has afforded all the officers that served under him.

Owhyhee, the easternmost, and by much the largest of these islands, is of a triangular shape, and nearly equilateral. The angular points make the north, east, and south extremities, of which the northern is in lat. 20° 17' north, long. 204° 2' east: the eastern in lat. 19° 34' north, long. 205° 6' east: and the southern extremity in lat. 18° 54' north, long. 204° 15' east. Its greatest length, which lies in a direction nearly north and south, is  $28\frac{1}{2}$  leagues; its breadth is 24 leagues; and it is about 255 geographical, or 293 English miles in circumference. The whole island is divided into six large districts; Amakooa and Aheedoo, which lie on the

north-east side ; Apoona and Kaoo on the south-east ; Akona and Koaara on the west. The districts of Amakooa and Aheedoo are separated by a mountain called Mounah Kaah (or the mountain Kaah), which rises in three peaks, perpetually covered with snow, and may be clearly seen at 40 leagues distance. To the north of this mountain the coast consists of high and abrupt cliffs, down which fall many beautiful cascades of water. We were once flattered with the hopes of meeting with a harbour round a bluff head, in lat.  $20^{\circ} 10'$  north, and long.  $204^{\circ} 26'$  east ; but, on doubling the point, and standing close in, we found it connected by a low valley, with another high head to the north-west. The country rises inland with a gentle ascent, is intersected by deep narrow gleus, or rather chasms, and appeared to be well cultivated and sprinkled over with a number of villages. The snowy mountain is very steep, and the lower part of it covered with wood.

The coast of Aheedoo, which lies to the south of Mouna Kaah, is of a moderate height, and the interior parts appear more even than the country to the north-west, and less broken by ravines. Off these two districts we cruised for almost a month ; and, whenever our distance from shore would permit it, were sure of being surrounded by canoes laden with all kinds of refreshments. We had frequently a very heavy sea, and great swell on this side of the island ; and as we had no soundings, and could observe much foul ground off the shore, we never approached nearer the land than two or three leagues, excepting on the occasion already mentioned. The coast to the north-east of Apoona, which forms the eastern extremity of the island, is low and flat ; the acclivity of the inland parts is very gradual, and the whole country covered with cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees. This, as far as we could judge, is the finest part of the island, and we were afterward told that the king had a place of residence here. At the south-west extremity the hills rise abruptly from the sea side, leaving but a narrow border of

low ground toward the beach. We were pretty near the shore at this part of the island, and found the sides of the hills covered with a fine verdure; but the country seemed to be very thinly inhabited. On doubling the east point of the island, we came in sight of another snowy mountain, called Mouna Roa (or the extensive mountain), which continued to be a very conspicuous object all the while we were sailing along the south-east side. It is flat at the top, making what is called by mariners table-land: the summit was constantly buried in snow, and we once saw its sides also slightly covered for a considerable way down; but the greatest part of this disappeared again in a few days.

According to the tropical line of snow, as determined by Mr. Condamine, from observations taken on the Cordilleras, this mountain must be at least 16,020 feet high, which exceeds the height of the Pico de Teyde, or Peak of Teneriffe, by 724 feet, according to Dr. Heberden's computation, or 3,680, according to that of the Chevalier de Borda. The peaks of Mouna Kaah appeared to be about half a mile high; and as they are entirely covered with snow, the altitude of their summits cannot be less than 18,400 feet. But it is probable that both these mountains may be considerably higher. For in insular situations, the effects of the warm sea air must necessarily remove the line of snow in equal latitudes, to a greater height than where the atmosphere is chilled on all sides by an immense tract of perpetual snow. The coast of Kao presents a prospect of the most horrid and dreary kind: the whole country appearing to have undergone a total change from the effects of some dreadful convulsion. The ground is every where covered with cinders, and intersected in many places with black streaks, which seem to mark the course of a lava that has flowed, not many ages back, from the mountain Roa to the shore. The southern promontory looks like the mere dregs of a volcano. The projecting head-land is composed



of broken and craggy rocks, piled irregularly on one another, and terminating in sharp points.

Notwithstanding the dismal aspect of this part of the island, there are many villages scattered over it, and it is much more populous than the verdant mountains of Apoona. Nor is this circumstance hard to be accounted for. As these islanders have no cattle, they have consequently no use for pasturage, and therefore naturally prefer such ground as either lies more convenient for fishing, or is best suited to the cultivation of yams and plantains. Now amidst these ruins, there are many patches of rich soil, which are carefully laid out in plantations, and the neighbouring sea abounds with a variety of most excellent fish, with which, as well as with other provisions, we were always plentifully supplied. Off this part of the coast we could find no ground, at less than a cable's length from the shore, with a hundred and sixty fathoms of line, excepting in a small bight to the eastward of the south point, where we had regular soundings of fifty and fifty-eight fathoms over a bottom of fine sand. Before we proceed to the western districts, it may be necessary to remark, that the whole east side of the island, from the northern to the southern extremity, does not afford the smallest harbour or shelter for shipping. The south-west parts of Akona are in the same state with the adjoining district of Kao; but farther to the north, the country has been cultivated with great pains, and is extremely populous. In this part of the island is situated Karakakooa Bay, which has been already described. Along the coast nothing is seen but large masses of slag, and the fragment of black scorched rocks; behind which, the ground rises gradually for about two miles and a half, and appears to have been formerly covered with loose burnt stones. These the natives have taken the pains of clearing away, frequently to the depth of three feet and upward; which labour, great as it is, the fertility of the soil amply repays. Here, in a rich ashy mould, they cultivate sweet potatoes

and the cloth-plant. The fields are enclosed with stone fences, and are interspersed with groves of cocoa-nut trees. On the rising ground beyond these, the bread-fruit trees are planted, and flourish with the greatest luxuriance. Koaara extends from the westernmost point to the northern extremity of the island; the whole coast between them forming an extensive bay, called Toeyah-yah, which is bounded to the north by two very conspicuous hills. Toward the bottom of this bay there is foul corally ground, extending upward of a mile from the shore, without which the soundings are regular, with good anchorage, in twenty fathoms. The country, as far as the eye could reach, seemed fruitful and well inhabited, the soil being in appearance of the same kind with the district of Kaoo; but no fresh water is to be got here:

I have hitherto confined myself to the coasts of this island, and the adjacent country, which is all that I had an opportunity of being acquainted with from my own observation. The only account I can give of the interior parts, is from the information I obtained from a party, who set out in the afternoon of the 26th of January, on an expedition up the country, with an intention of penetrating as far as they could; and principally of reaching, if possible, the snowy mountains.

Having procured two natives to serve them as guides, they left the village about four o'clock in the afternoon, directing their course a little to the southward of the east. To the distance of three or four miles from the bay, they found the country as before described; the hills afterward rose with a more sudden ascent, which brought them to the extensive plantations that terminate the view of the country as seen from the ships.

These plantations consist of the tarrow or eddy root, and the sweet potatoe, with plants of the cloth tree, neatly set out in rows. The walls that separate them are made of the loose burnt stones, which are got in clearing the ground

and being entirely concealed by sugar-canes, planted close on each side, make the most beautiful fences that can be conceived. Both the sweet potatoes, and the tarrow, are here planted four feet from each other: the former was earthed up almost to the top of the stalk, with about half a bushel of light mould; the latter is left bare to the root, and the mould round it is made in the form of a basin, in order to hold the rain-water, as this root requires a certain degree of moisture. The tarrow at the Friendly and Society Islands was always planted in low and moist situations, and generally where there was the convenience of a rivulet to flood it. It was imagined that this mode of culture was absolutely necessary; but we now found, that with the precaution above mentioned, it succeeds equally well in a drier situation: indeed, we all remarked, that the tarrow of the Sandwich Islands is the best we had ever tasted. The plantains are not admitted in these plantations, but grow amongst the bread-fruit trees.

The party stopped for the night at the second hut they found amongst the plantations, judging themselves to be about six or seven miles from the ships. They described the prospect from this spot as very delightful; they saw the ships in the bay before them; to the left a continued range of villages, interspersed with groves of cocoa-nut trees, spreading along the sea shore; a thick wood stretching out of sight behind them; and to the right an extent of ground, laid out in regular and well cultivated plantations, as far as the eye could reach.

Near this spot, at a distance from any other dwelling, the natives pointed out to them the residence of a hermit, who, they said, had formerly been a great chief and warrior, but had long ago quitted the shores of the island, and now never stirred from his cottage. They prostrated themselves as they approached him, and afterward presented to him a part of such provisions as they had brought with them. His behaviour was easy and cheerful; he scarce shewed any

marks of astonishment at the sight of our people, and though pressed to accept some of our curiosities, he declined the offer, and soon withdrew to his cottage. He was described as by far the oldest person any of the party had ever seen, and judged to be, by those who computed his age at the lowest, upwards of 100 years old.

As our people had imagined the mountain not to be more than ten or twelve miles from the bay, and consequently that they should reach it with ease early the next morning, an error into which its great height had probably led them, they were now much surprized to find the distance scarce perceptibly diminished. This circumstance, together with the uninhabited state of the country they were going to enter, made it necessary to procure a supply of provisions; and for that purpose they dispatched one of the guides back to the village. Whilst they were waiting his return, they were joined by some of Kaoo's servants, whom that benevolent old man had sent after them, as soon as he heard of their journey, laden with refreshments, and authorized, as their route lay through his grounds, to demand and take away whatever they might have occasion for.

Our travellers were much astonished to find the cold here so intense; but having no thermometer with them, could judge of it only by their feelings; which, from the warm atmosphere they had left, must have been a very fallacious measure. They found it, however, so cold, that they could get but little sleep, and the natives none at all; both parties being disturbed, the whole night, by continued coughing. As they could not, at this time, be at any very considerable height, the distance from the sea being only six or seven miles, and part of the road on a very moderate ascent, this extraordinary degree of cold must be ascribed to the easterly wind blowing fresh over the snowy mountains.

Early on the 27th they set out again, and filled their calabashes at an excellent well about half a mile from their hut. Having passed the plantations, they came to a thick wood,

which they entered by a path made for the convenience of the natives, who go thither to fetch the wild or horse-plantain, and to catch birds. Their progress now became very slow, and attended with much labour; the ground being either swampy or covered with large stones; the path narrow, and frequently interrupted by trees lying across it, which it was necessary to climb over, the thickness of the underwood on both sides, making it impossible to pass round them. In these woods they observed, at small distances, pieces of white cloth fixed on poles, which they supposed to be land-marks for the division of property, as they only met with them where the wild plantains grew. The trees, which are of the same kind with those we called the spice-tree at New Holland, were lofty and straight, and from two to four feet in circumference.

After they had advanced about ten miles in the wood, they had the mortification to find themselves, on a sudden, without sight of the sea, and at no great distance from it; the path having turned imperceptibly to the southward, and carried them to the right of the mountain, which it was their object to reach. Their dissatisfaction was greatly increased by the uncertainty they were now under of its true bearings, since they could not, at this time, get a view of it from the top of the highest trees. They, therefore, found themselves obliged to walk back six or seven miles to an unoccupied hut, where they had left three of the natives and two of their own people, with the small stock that remained of their provisions. Here they spent the second night; and the air was so very sharp, and so little to the liking of their guides, that, by the morning, they had all departed, except one.

The want of provisions now making it necessary to return to some of the cultivated parts of the island, they quitted the wood by the same path they had entered it; and, on their arrival at the plantations, were surrounded by the natives, of whom they purchased a fresh stock of necessaries;

and prevailed upon two of them to supply the place of the guides that were gone away. Having obtained the best information in their power, with regard to the direction of their road, the party, being now nine in number, marched along the skirts of the wood for six or seven miles, and then entered it again by a path that bore to the eastward. For the first three miles they passed through a forest of lofty spice-trees, growing on a strong rich loam; at the back of which they found an equal extent of low shrubby trees, with much thick underwood, on a bottom of loose burnt stones. This led them to a second forest of spice-trees, and the same rich brown soil, which was again succeeded by a barren ridge of the same nature with the former. This alternate succession may, perhaps, afford matter of curious speculation to naturalists. The only additional circumstance I could learn relating to it was, that these ridges appeared, as far as they could be seen, to run in directions parallel to the sea shore, and to have Mount Roa for their centre.

In passing through the woods they found many canoes half-finished, and here and there a hut; but saw none of the inhabitants. Having penetrated near three miles into the second wood, they came to two huts, where they stopped, exceedingly fatigued with the day's journey, having walked not less than twenty miles, according to their own computation. As they had met with no springs, from the time they left the plantation-ground, and began to suffer much from the violence of their thirst, they were obliged, before the night came on, to separate into parties, and go in search of water - and, at last, found some left by rain in the bottom of an unfinished canoe, which, though of the colour of red wine, was to them no unwelcome discovery. In the night, the cold was still more intense than they had found it before; and though they had wrapped themselves up in mats and cloths of the country, and kept a large fire between the two huts, they could yet sleep but very little, and were obliged to walk about the greatest part of the night.



Their elevation was now probably pretty considerable, as the ground on which they had travelled had been generally on the ascent.

On the 29th, at day-break, they set out, intending to make their last and utmost effort to reach the snowy mountain; but their spirits were much depressed, when they found that they had expended the miserable pittance of water they had found the night before. The path, which extended no farther than where canoes had been built, was now at an end; and they were therefore obliged to make their way as well as they could; every now and then climbing up into the highest trees, to explore the country round. At eleven o'clock, they came to a ridge of burnt stones, from the top of which they saw the snowy mountain, appearing to be about twelve or fourteen miles distant.

It was here deliberated whether they should proceed any farther, or rest satisfied with the view they now had of Mouna Rao. The road, ever since the path ceased, had become exceedingly fatiguing, and every step they advanced was growing still more so. The deep chinks with which the ground was every where broken, being slightly covered with moss, made them stumble at almost every step; and the intermediate space was a surface of loose burnt stones, which broke under their feet like potsherds. They threw stones into several of these chinks, which, by the noise they made, seemed to fall to a considerable depth, and the ground sounded hollow under their feet. Besides these discouraging circumstances, they found their guides so averse to going on, that they believed, whatever their own determinations might have been, they could not have prevailed on them to remain out another night: they therefore at last agreed to return to the ships, after taking a view of the country from the highest trees which the place afforded. From this elevation they saw themselves surrounded, on all sides, with wood; towards the sea, they could not distinguish, in the horizon, the sky from the water; and be-

tween them and the snowy mountain, was a valley about seven or eight miles broad, above which the mountain appeared only as a hill of a moderate size.

They rested this night at a hut in the second wood, and, on the 30th, before noon, they had got clear of the first, and found themselves about nine miles to the north-east of the ships, towards which they directed their march through the plantations. As they passed along, they did not observe a single spot of ground that was capable of improvement left unplanted; and indeed it appeared, from their account, hardly possible for the country to be cultivated to greater advantage for the purposes of the inhabitants, or made to yield them a larger supply of necessaries for their subsistence. They were surprized to meet with several fields of hay; and on inquiring to what uses it was applied, were told, it was designed to cover the young tarrow grounds, in order to preserve them from being scorched by the sun. They saw a few scattered huts amongst the plantations, which served for occasional shelter to the labourers; but no villages at a greater distance than four or five miles from the sea. Near one of them, about four miles from the bay, they found a cave, forty fathoms long, three broad, and of the same height. It was open at both ends; the sides were fluted, as if wrought with a chissel, and the surface glazed over, probably by the action of fire.

Having given this account of the most material circumstances that occurred on the expedition to the snowy mountain, I shall now return to the other islands that remain to be described.

The island next in size and nearest in situation to Owhy-hee, is Mowee; which lies at the distance of eight leagues north-north-west from the former, and is one hundred and forty geographical miles in circumference. A low isthmus divides it into two circular peninsulas, of which that to the east is called Whamadocoo, and is double the size of the western peninsula called Owhyrookoo. The mountains in both rise

to an exceeding great height, having been seen by us at the distance of upwards of thirty leagues. The northern shores, like those of Owhyhee, afford no soundings; and the country presents the same appearance of verdure and fertility. To the south-east, between this and the adjacent isles, we had regular depths with a hundred and fifty fathoms, with a sandy bottom. From the west point, which is low, runs a shoal, stretching out towards Ranai, to a considerable distance; and to the southward of this is a fine spacious bay, with sandy beach, shaded with cocoa-nut trees. It is probable that good anchorage might be found here, with shelter from the prevailing winds, and that the beach affords a convenient place for landing. The country behind presents a most romantic appearance. The hills rise almost perpendicularly, in a great variety of peaked forms; and their steep sides, and the deep chasms between them, are covered with trees, amongst which those of the bread-fruit were observed particularly to abound. The tops of these hills are entirely bare, and of a reddish brown colour. We were informed by the natives that there is a harbour to the southward of the east point, which they affirmed to be superior to that of Karakakooa; and we were also told that, on the north-west side, there was another harbour called Keepookespoa.

Tahoorowa is a small island lying off the south-west part of Mowee, from which it is distant three leagues. This island is destitute of wood, and the soil seems to be sandy and barren. Between Tahoorowa and Mowee lies the small uninhabited island of Morrotinne.

Marotoi is only two leagues and a half from Mowee to the west-north-west. The south-western coast, which was the only part near which we approached, is very low; but the land rises backward to a considerable height; and, at the distance from which we saw it, appeared to be entirely without wood. Its produce, we were told, consists chiefly of yams. It may, probably, have fresh water, and, on the

south and west sides, the coast forms several bays, that promise good shelter from the trade winds.

Ranai is about three leagues distant from Mowee and Morotoi, and lies to the south-west of the passage between these islands. The country to the south is high and craggy; but the other parts of the island had a better aspect, and appeared to be well inhabited. We were told that it produces very few plantains and bread-fruit trees; but that it abounds in roots, such as yams, sweet potatoes, and taro.

Woahoo lies to the north-west of Morotoi, at the distance of about seven leagues. As far as we could judge, from the appearance of the north-east and north-west parts (for we saw nothing of the southern side), it is by far the finest island of the group. Nothing can exceed the verdure of the hills, the variety of wood and lawn, and rich cultivated vallies, which the whole face of the country displayed. Having already given a description of the bay, formed by the north and west extremities, in which we came to an anchor, I have only to observe, that in the bight of the bay, to the south of the anchoring-place, we found rocky foul ground, two miles from the shore. Should the ground tackling of a ship be weak, and the wind blow strong from the north, to which quarter the road is entirely open, this circumstance might be attended with some danger; but with good cables there would be little risk, as the ground from the anchoring-place, which is opposite to the valley through which the river runs to the north point, is a fine sand.

Atooi lies to the north-west of Woahoo, and is distant from it about twenty-five leagues. The face of the country, to the north-east and north-west, is broken and ragged, but to the south it is more even; the hills rise with a gentle slope from the sea side, and, at some distance back, are covered with wood. Its productions are the same with those of the other islands; but the inhabitants far surpass

all the neighbouring islanders in the management of their plantations. In the low grounds, adjoining to the bay where we lay at anchor, these plantations were divided by deep and regular ditches; the fences were made with a neatness approaching to elegance, and the roads through them were thrown up and finished in a manner that would have done credit to any European engineer.

Oneeheow lies five leagues to the westward of Atooi. The eastern coast is high, and rises abruptly from the sea, but the rest of the island consists of low ground; excepting a round bluff head on the south-east point. It produces abundance of yams, and of the sweet root called Tee; but we got from it no other sort of provisions.

Oreehou and Tahoorá are two small islands in the neighbourhood of Oneeheow. The former is a single high hummock, joined by a reef of coral rocks to the northern extremity of Oneeheow. The latter lies to the south-west, and is uninhabited.

The climate of the Sandwich islands differs very little from that of the West India islands, which lie in the same latitude. Upon the whole, perhaps, it may be rather more temperate. The thermometer, on shore in Karakakooa bay, never rose higher than 88°, and that but one day; its mean height at noon, was 83°. In Wymoa Bay, its mean height at noon was 76°, and when out at sea 75°. The mean height of the thermometer at noon, in Jamaica, is about 86°, at sea 80°.

Whether they be subject to the same violent winds and hurricanes, we could not discover, as we were not there in any of the stormy months. However, as the natives gave us no positive testimony of the fact, and no traces of their effects were any where visible, it is probable that, in this respect, they resemble the Society and Friendly Islands, which are in a great measure free from these dreadful visitations.

During the four winter months that we remained

amongst these islands, there was more rain, especially in the interior parts, than usually falls during the dry season in the islands of the West Indies. We generally saw clouds collecting round the tops of the hills, and producing rain to leeward; but after they are separated from the land by wind, they disperse and are lost, and others succeed in their place. This happened daily at Owhyhée; the mountainous parts being generally enveloped in a cloud; successive showers falling in the inland country, with fine weather, and a clear sky at the sea-shore.

The winds in general were from east-south-east to north-east; though they sometimes varied a few points each way to the north and south; but these were light, and of short duration. In the harbour of Karakakooa, we had a constant land and sea breeze every day and night.

The currents seemed very uncertain, sometimes setting to windward, and at other times to leeward, without any regularity. They did not appear to be governed by the winds, nor any other cause that I can assign; they frequently set to windward against a fresh breeze.

The tides are very regular, flowing and ebbing six hours each. The flood comes from the eastward; and it is high water, at the full change of the moon, forty-five minutes past three, apparent time. Their greatest rise is two feet seven inches; and we always observed the water to be four inches higher when the moon was above the horizon, than when it was below.

The quadrupeds in these, as in all the other islands that have been discovered in the South Sea, are confined to three sorts, dogs, hogs, and rats. The dogs are of the same species with those of Otaheite, having short crooked legs, long backs, and pricked ears. I did not observe any variety in them, except in their skins; some having long and rough hair, and others being quite smooth. They are about the size of a common turnspit, exceedingly sluggish in their nature; though perhaps this may be more owing to the



manner in which they are treated, than to any natural disposition in them. They are in general fed and left to herd with the hogs; and I do not recollect one instance in which a dog was made a companion in the manner we do in Europe. Indeed the custom of eating them is an inseparable bar to their admission into society; and, as there are neither beasts of prey in the island, nor objects of chase, it is probable that the social qualities of the dog, its fidelity, attachment, and sagacity, will remain unknown to the natives.

The number of dogs in these islands did not appear to be equal to those in Otaheite; but on the other hand, they abound much more in hogs, and the breed is of a larger and weightier kind. The supply of provisions of this kind which we got from them was really astonishing. We were near four months, either cruising off the coast, or in harbour at Owhyhee. During all this time, a large allowance of fresh pork was constantly served to both crews; so that our consumption was computed at about sixty puncheons of five hundred weight each. Besides this, and the incredible waste which, in the midst of such plenty, was not to be guarded against, sixty puncheons more were salted for sea store. The greatest part of this supply was drawn from the island of Owhyhee alone, and yet we could not perceive that it was at all drained, or even that the abundance had any way decreased.

The birds of these islands are as beautiful as any we had seen during the voyage, and are numerous, though not various. There are four, which seem to belong to the system of honey-suckers of Linnæus; one of which is something larger than a bullfinch, its colour is of a fine glossy black, the rump, vent, and thighs a deep yellow. Another is of an exceedingly bright scarlet colour; the wings black, and edged with white, and the tail black. A third, which seems to be either a young bird, or a variety of the foregoing, is variegated with red, brown, and yellow.

The fourth is entirely green, with a tinge of yellow. There is a species of thrush, with a grey breast, and a small bird of the fly-catcher kind; a rail, with very short wings and no tail. Ravens are found here, but they are very scarce; their colour is dark brown, inclining to black, and their note is different from the European. Here are two small birds, both of one genus, that are very common, one is red, and generally seen about the cocoa-nut trees, particularly when they are in flower, from whence it seems to derive great part of its subsistence; the other is green; the tongues of both are long and ciliated, or fringed at the tip. A bird with a yellow head, which, from the structure of its beak, we called a parroquet, is likewise very common. It however by no means belongs to that tribe, but greatly resembles the yellowish cross-bill of Linnæus.

At Oneeheow they brought us several large roots of a brown colour, shaped like a yam, and from six to ten pounds in weight. The juice, which it yields in great abundance, is very sweet, and of a pleasant taste, and was found to be an excellent substitute for sugar. The natives are very fond of it, and use it as an article of their common diet; and our people also found it very palatable and wholesome. We could not learn to what species of plant it belonged, having never been able to procure the leaves; but it was supposed, by our botanists, to be the root of some kind of fern.

The inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands are undoubtedly of the same race with those of New Zealand, the Society and Friendly Islands, Easter Island, and the Marquesas; a race that possesses, without any intermixture, all the known lands between the latitude of 47° south, and 20° north, and between the longitudes of 184° and 260° east. This fact, which, extraordinary as it is, might be thought sufficiently proved by the striking similarity of their manners and customs, and the general resemblance of their persons, is established, beyond all controversy, by the absolute identity of their language.

From what continent they originally emigrated, and by what steps they have spread through so vast a space, those who are curious in disquisitions of this nature, may perhaps not find it very difficult to conjecture. It has been already observed, that they bear strong marks of affinity to some of the Indian tribes, that inhabit the Ladrões and Caroline Islands; and the same affinity may again be traced amongst the Battas and the Malays. When these events happened is not so easy to ascertain; it was probably not very lately, as they are extremely populous, and have no tradition of their own origin, but what is perfectly fabulous; whilst, on the other hand, the unadulterated state of their general language, and the similarity which still prevails in their customs and manners, seem to indicate that it could not have been at any very distant period.

The natives of these islands are in general above the middle size, and well made: they walk very gracefully, run nimbly, and are capable of bearing great fatigue; though, upon the whole, the men are somewhat inferior, in point of strength and activity, to the Friendly Islanders, and the women less delicately limbed than those of Otaheite. Their complexion is rather darker than that of the Otaheiteans, and they are not altogether so handsome a people. However, many of both sexes had fine open countenances, and the women, in particular, had good eyes and teeth, and a sweetness and sensibility of look, which rendered them very engaging. Their hair is of a brownish black, and neither uniformly straight, like that of the Indians of America, nor uniformly curling, as amongst the African negroes, but varying in this respect like the hair of Europeans. One striking peculiarity in the features of every part of this nation, I do not remember to have seen any where mentioned; which is, that even in the handsomest faces, there is always a fulness of the nostrils, without any flatness or spreading of the nose, that distinguishes them from Europeans. It is not improbable that this may be the effect of

their usual mode of salutation, which is performed by pressing the ends of their noses together.

The same superiority that is observable in the persons of the Erees, through all the other islands, is found also here. Those whom we saw were, without exception, perfectly well formed; whereas the lower sort, besides their general inferiority, are subject to all the variety of make and figure that is seen in the populace of other countries. Instances of deformity are more frequent here than in any of the other islands. Whilst we were cruising off Owhyhee, two dwarfs came on board, one an old man, four feet two inches high, but exactly proportioned, and the other a woman, nearly of the same height. We afterwards saw three natives who were hump-backed, and a young man, born without hands or feet. Squinting is also very common amongst them; and a man who, they said, had been born blind, was brought to us to be cured. Besides these particular imperfections, they are, in general, very subject to boils and ulcers, which we attributed to the great quantity of salt they eat with their flesh and fish. The Erees are very free from these complaints; but many of them suffer still more dreadful effects from the immoderate use of the ava. Those who were the most affected by it, had their bodies covered with a white scurf, their eyes red and inflamed, their limbs emaciated, the whole frame trembling and paralytic, accompanied with a disability to raise the head. Though this drug does not appear universally to shorten life, as was evident from the cases of Terreeboon, Kaco, and some other chiefs, who were very old men, yet it invariably brings on an early and decrepid old age. It is fortunate that the use of it is made one of the peculiar privileges of the chiefs. The young son of Terreeboon, who was about twelve years old, used to boast of his being admitted to drink ava, and shewed us, with great triumph, a small pot in his side that was growing scaly.

There is something very singular in the history of this

pernicious drug. When Capt. Cook first visited the Society Islands, it was very little known among them. On his second voyage, he found the use of it very prevalent at Ulietea; but it had still gained very little ground at Otahete. When we were last there, the dreadful havoc it had made was beyond belief, insomuch that the captain scarce knew many of his old acquaintances. At the Friendly Islands, it is also constantly drunk by the chiefs, but so much diluted with water, that it does not appear to produce any bad effects. At Atooi also it is used with great moderation, and the chiefs are, in consequence, a much finer set of men there than in any of the neighbouring islands. We remarked that, by discontinuing the use of this root, the noxious effects of it soon wore off. Our good friends, Kaireekaea and old Kaoo, were persuaded by us to refrain from it, and they recovered amazingly during the short time we afterward remained in the island.

It may be thought extremely difficult to form any probable conjectures respecting the population of islands, with many parts of which we are imperfectly acquainted. There are, however, two circumstances that take away much of this objection; the first is, that the interior parts of the country are entirely uninhabited; so that, if the number of the inhabitants along the coast be known, the whole will be pretty accurately determined. The other is, that there are no towns of any considerable size, the habitations of the natives being pretty equally dispersed in small villages round all their coasts. It is on this ground that I shall venture at a rough calculation of the number of persons in this group of islands.

The bay of Karakakooa, in Owhyhee, is three miles in extent, and contains four villages of about eighty houses each, upon an average, in all three hundred and twenty, besides a number of straggling houses, which may make the whole amount to three hundred and fifty. From the frequent opportunities I had of informing myself on this head

I am convinced that six persons to a house is a very moderate allowance; so that, on this calculation, the country about the bay contains two thousand one hundred souls. To these may be added fifty families, or three hundred persons, which I conceive to be nearly the number employed in the interior parts of the country amongst their plantations, making, in all, two thousand four hundred. If, therefore, this number be applied to the whole extent of the coast round the island, deducting a quarter for the uninhabited part, it will be found to contain one hundred and fifty thousand. By the same mode of calculation, the rest of the islands will be found to contain the following numbers:

|                |         |
|----------------|---------|
| Owhyhee .....  | 150,000 |
| Mowee .....    | 65,400  |
| Woahoo .....   | 60,200  |
| Atooi .....    | 54,000  |
| Morotoi .....  | 38,000  |
| Oneeheow ..... | 10,000  |
| Ranai .....    | 20,400  |
| Oreehoua ..... | 4,000   |

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Total of inhabitants ..... 400,000

I am pretty confident, that in this calculation I have not exceeded the truth in the total amount. If we compare the numbers supposed to be in Owhyhee, with the population of Otaheite, as settled by Dr. Forster, the computation will be found very low. The proportion of coast in the latter island, is to that of Owhyhee, only as one to three: the number of inhabitants in Otaheite he states as 121,500; though, according to his own principles, it should be double that amount. Again, if we compare it with the medium population of the countries in Europe, the proportion will be in favour of the latter nearly two to one.

Notwithstanding the irreparable loss we suffered from the sudden resentment and violence of these people, yet in justice to their general conduct, it must be acknowledged, that they are of the most mild and affectionate disposition; equally remote from the extreme levity and fickleness of the



Otaheiteans, and the distant gravity and reserve of the inhabitants of the Friendly Islands. They appear to live in the utmost harmony and friendship with one another. The women, who had children, were remarkable for their tender and constant attention to them; and the men would often lend their assistance in those domestic offices, with a willingness that does credit to their feelings.

It must however be observed, that they fall very short of the other islanders, in that best test of civilization, the respect paid to the women. Here they are not only deprived of the privilege of eating with the men, but the best sorts of food are tabooed, or forbidden them. They are not allowed to eat pork, turtle, several kinds of fish, and some species of the plantains; and we were told that a poor girl got a terrible beating, for eating on board our ship, one of these interdicted articles. In their domestic life, they appear to live almost entirely by themselves, and though we did not observe any instances of personal ill treatment, yet it was evident they had little regard or attention paid them.

The great hospitality and kindness with which we were received by them, have been already frequently remarked; and indeed they make the principal part of our transactions with them. Whenever we came on shore, there was a constant struggle who should be most forward in making us little presents, bringing refreshments, or shewing some other mark of their respect. The old people never failed of receiving us with tears of joy; seemed highly gratified with being allowed to touch us, and were constantly making comparisons between themselves and us, with the strongest marks of humility. The young women were not less kind and engaging, and till they found, notwithstanding our utmost endeavours to prevent it, that they had reason to repent of our acquaintance, attached themselves to us without the least reserve. In justice however to the sex, it must be observed, that these ladies were probably all of the lower class of the people; for I am strongly inclined to believe,

that excepting the few whose names are mentioned in the course of our narrative, we did not see any woman of rank during our stay amongst them.

Their natural capacity seems, in no respect, below the common standard of mankind. Their improvements in agriculture, and the perfection of their manufactures, are certainly adequate to the circumstances of their situation and the natural advantages they enjoy. The eager curiosity with which they attended the armourer's forge, and the many expedients they had invented, even before we left the islands, for working the iron they had procured from us, into such forms as were best adapted to their purposes, were strong proofs of docility and ingenuity.

Our unfortunate friend Kaneena, possessed a degree of judicious curiosity, and a quickness of conception, which was rarely met with amongst these people. He was very inquisitive after our customs and manners; asked after our king, the nature of our government, our numbers, the method of building our ships, our houses, the produce of our country, whether we had wars, with whom and on what occasions, and in what manner they were carried on; who was our God; and many other questions of the same nature, which indicated an understanding of great comprehension.

We met with two instances of persons disordered in their minds; the one a man at Owhyhee, the other a woman at Oneeheow. It appeared, from the particular attention and respect paid to them, that the opinion of their being inspired by the divinity, which obtains among most of the nations of the east, is also received here.

Though the custom of eating the bodies of their enemies be not known, by positive evidence, to exist in any of the South Sea Islands, except New Zealand, yet it is extremely probable, that it was originally prevalent in them all. The sacrificing human victims, which seems evidently to be a relic of this horrid practice, still obtain universally amongst these islanders; and it is easy to conceive why the New Zea-

landers should retain the past, which was probably the last act of these shocking rites, longer than the rest of their tribe, who were situated in more mild and fruitful climates. As the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands certainly bear a nearer resemblance to those of New Zealand, both in their persons and disposition, than to any other people of this family, so it was strongly suspected, by Mr. Anderson, that like them they still continue to feast on human flesh. As I always entertained great doubts of the justice of his conclusions, it may not be improper to take this occasion of mentioning the grounds on which I venture to differ from him. With respect to the information derived from the natives themselves, I shall only observe, that great pains were taken, by almost every officer on board, to come at the knowledge of so curious a circumstance ; and that except in two instances mentioned by Mr. Anderson, we found them invariably denying the existence of any such custom amongst them. It must be allowed that Mr. Anderson's knowledge of their language, which was superior to that of any other person in either ship, ought certainly to give his opinion great weight ; at the same time, I must beg leave to remark, that being present when he examined the man who had the small piece of salted flesh wrapped in cloth, it struck me very forcibly, that the signs he made use of meant nothing more, than that it was intended to eat, and that it was very pleasant or wholesome to the stomach. In this opinion I was confirmed by a circumstance which came to our knowledge, after the death of my worthy and ingenious friend, viz. that almost every native of these islands carried about with them, either in his calibash, or wrapped up in a piece of cloth, and tied about his waist, a small piece of raw pork, highly salted, which they considered as a great delicacy, and used now and then to taste of. With respect to the confusion the young lad was in (for he was not more than sixteen or eighteen years of age), no one could have

been surprised at it, who had seen the eager and earnest manner in which Mr. Anderson questioned him.

The argument drawn from the instrument made with sharks' teeth, and which is nearly of the same form with those used at New Zealand for cutting up the bodies of their enemies, is much more difficult to controvert. I believe it to be an undoubted fact, that this knife, if it may be so called, is never used by them in cutting the flesh of other animals. However, as the custom of offering human sacrifices, and of burning the bodies of the slain, is still prevalent here, it is not improbable that the use of this instrument is retained in those ceremonies. Upon the whole, I am strongly inclined to think, and particularly from this last circumstance, that the horrid practice in question, has but lately ceased amongst these and other islands of the South Sea. Omai, when pressed on this subject, confessed that in the rage and fury of revenge, they would sometimes tear the flesh of their enemies that were slain with their teeth, but positively denied that they ever eat it. This was certainly approaching as near the fact as could be; but, on the other hand, the denial is a strong proof that the practice has actually ceased; since in New Zealand, where it still exists, the inhabitants never made the smallest scruple of confessing it.

The inhabitants of these islands differ from those of the Friendly Isles, in suffering, almost universally, their beards to grow. There were indeed a few amongst whom was the old king, that cut it off entirely; and others that wore it only upon the upper lip. The same variety, in the manner of wearing the hair, is also observable here as among the other islanders of the South Sea; besides which, as far as we know, they have a fashion peculiar to themselves. They cut it close on each side the head down to the ears, leaving a ridge of about a small hand's breadth, running from the forehead to the neck; which, when the hair is thick and curling, has the form of the crest of the ancient helmet. Others wear large quantities of false hair,

flowing down their backs in long ringlets, and others again, tie it into a single round bunch on the top of the head, almost as large as the head itself, and some into five or six distinct bunches. They daub their hair with a gray clay, mixed with powdered shells, which they keep in balls, and chew it into a kind of soft paste, when they have occasion to make use of it. This keeps the hair smooth; and, in times changes it to a pale yellow colour.

Both sexes wear necklaces, made of strings of small variegated shells; and an ornament, in the form of the handle of a cup, about two inches long, and half an inch broad, made of wood, stone, or ivory, finely polished, which is hung about the neck by fine threads of twisted hair, doubled sometimes an hundred fold. Instead of this ornament, some of them wear on their breast a small human figure made of bone, suspended in the same manner.

The fan, or fly-flap, is also an ornament used by both sexes. The most ordinary kind are made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut, tied loose, in bunches, on the top of a smooth polished handle. The tail feathers of the cock, and of the tropic-bird, are also used in the same manner; but the most valuable are those which have the handle made of the arm or leg bones of an enemy slain in battle, and which are preserved with great care, and handed down from father to son, as trophies of inestimable value.

The custom of tattowing the body, they have in common with the rest of the natives of the South Sea Islands; but it is only at New Zealand and the Sandwich Islands, that they tattow the face. There is also this difference between the two last, that in the former it is done in elegant spiral volutes, and in the latter in straight lines, crossing each other at right angles. The hands and arms of the women are also very neatly marked, and they have a singular custom amongst them, the meaning of which we could never learn, that of tattowing the tip of the tongues of the females.

From some information we received, relative to the custom of tattowing, we were inclined to think that it is frequently intended as a sign of mourning on the death of a chief, or any other calamitous event. For we were often told, that such a particular mark was in memory of such a chief; and so of the rest. It may be here too observed, that the lowest class are often tattowed with a mark, that distinguishes them as the property of the several chiefs to whom they belong.

The dress of the men generally consists only of a piece of thick cloth called the maro about ten or twenty inches broad, which they pass between the legs, and tie round the waist. This is the common dress of all ranks of people. Their mats, some of which are beautifully manufactured, are of various sizes, but mostly about five feet long, and four broad. These they throw over their shoulders, and bring forward before; but they are seldom used, except in time of war, for which purpose they seem better adapted than for ordinary use, being of a thick and cumbersome texture, and capable of breaking the blow of a stone, or any blunt weapon. Their feet are generally bare, except when they have occasion to travel over the burnt stones, when they secure them with a sort of sandal, made of cords, twisted from the fibres of the cocoa-nut. Such is the ordinary dress of these islanders; but they have another, appropriated to their chiefs, and used on ceremonious occasions, consisting of a feathered cloak and helmet, which in point of beauty and magnificence, is perhaps nearly equal to that of any nation in the world. As this dress has been already described with great accuracy and minuteness, I have only to add, that these cloaks are made of different lengths, in proportion to the rank of the wearer, some of them reaching no lower than the middle, others trailing on the ground. The inferior chiefs have also a short cloak, resembling the former, made of the long tail-feathers of the cock, the tropic and man-of-war birds, with a broad border of the small red and yellow feathers, and a collar of



the same. Others again are made of feathers entirely white, with variegated borders. The helmet has a strong lining of wicker-work, capable of breaking the blow of any warlike instrument, and seems evidently designed for that purpose.

These feathered dresses seemed to be exceedingly scarce, appropriated to persons of the highest rank, and worn by the men only. During the whole time we lay in Karakakooa Bay, we never saw them used but on three occasions: in the curious ceremony of Terreeoboo's first visit to the ships; by some chiefs, who were seen among the crowd on shore when Capt. Cook was killed; and afterward when Eappo brought his bones to us.

The exact resemblance between this habit, and the cloak and helmet formerly worn by the Spaniards, was too striking not to excite our curiosity to inquire whether there were any probable grounds for supposing it to have been borrowed from them. After exerting every means in our power of obtaining information on this subject, we found that they had no immediate knowledge of any other nation whatever, nor any tradition remaining among them of these islands having been ever visited before by such ships as ours. But notwithstanding the result of these inquiries, the uncommon form of this habit appears to me a sufficient proof of its European origin; especially when added to another circumstance, that it is a singular deviation from the general resemblance in dress, which prevails amongst all the branches of this tribe, dispersed through the South Sea. We were driven indeed, by this conclusion, to a supposition of the shipwreck of some Buccaneer, or Spanish ship, in the neighbourhood of these islands. But when it is recollected, that the course of the Spanish trade from Acapulco to the Manillas, is but a few degrees to the southward of the Sandwich Islands, in their passage out, and to the northward on their return, this supposition will not appear in the least improbable.

The common dress of the women bears a close resemblance to that of the men. They wrap round the waist a piece of cloth, that reaches half way down the thighs ; and sometimes in the cool of the evening they appeared with loose pieces of fine cloth thrown over their shoulders, like the women of Otaheite. The pau is another dress very frequently worn by the younger part of the sex. It is made of the thinnest and finest sort of cloth, wrapt several times round the waist, and descending to the leg, so as to have exactly the appearance of a full short petticoat. Their hair is cut short behind, and turned up before, as is the fashion among the Otaheiteans and New Zealanders ; all of whom differ in this respect from the women of the Friendly Islands, who wear their hair long. We saw indeed one woman in Karakakooa Bay, whose hair was arranged in a very singular manner ; it was turned up behind, and brought over the forehead, and then doubled back, so as to form a sort of shade to the face, like a small bonnet.

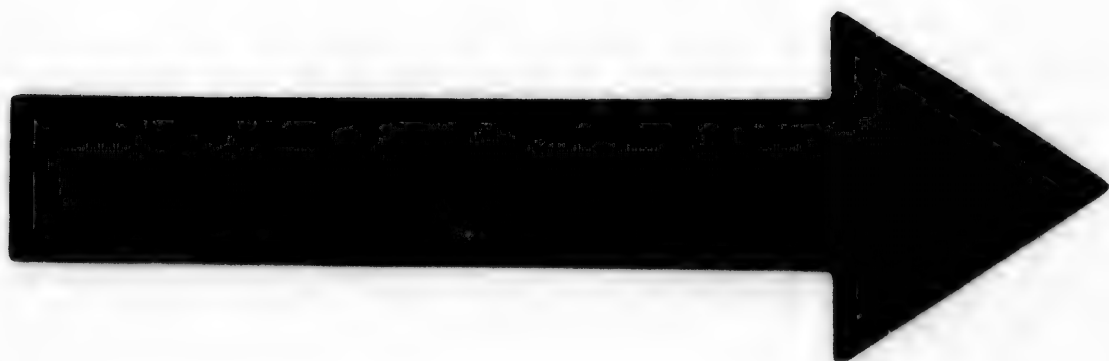
Their necklaces are made of shells, or of a hard shining red berry. Besides which, they wear wreaths of dried flowers of the Indian mallow ; and another beautiful ornament called eraie, which is generally put about the neck, but is sometimes tied like a garland round the hair, and sometimes worn in both these ways at once. It is a ruff of the thickness of a finger, made in a curious manner, of exceedingly small feathers, woven so close together as to form a surface as smooth as that of the richest velvet. The ground was generally of a red colour, with alternate circles of green, yellow, and black. Their bracelets, which were also of great variety, and very peculiar kinds, have been already described.

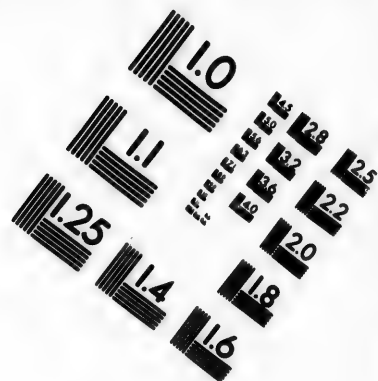
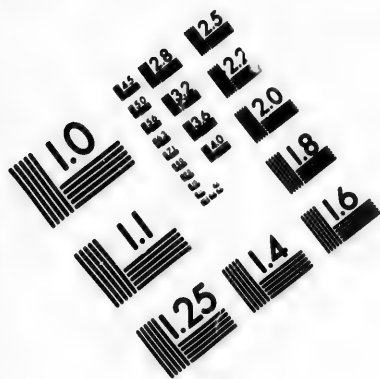
At Atooi, some of the women wore little figures of the turtle neatly formed of wood or ivory, tied on their fingers in the manner we wear rings. Why this animal is thus particularly distinguished, I leave to the conjectures of the curious. There is also an ornament made of shells, fastened

in rows on a ground of strong netting, so as to strike each other when in motion ; which both men and women, when they dance, tie either round the arm or the ankle, or below the knee. Instead of shells, they sometimes make use of dogs' teeth, and a hard red berry, resembling that of the holly.

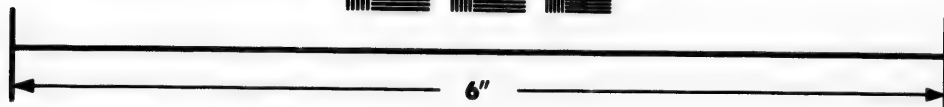
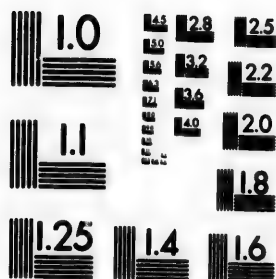
There remains to be mentioned another ornament (if such it may be called,) which is a kind of mask, made of a large gourd, with holes cut in it for the eyes and nose. The top was stuck full of small green twigs, which at a distance had the appearance of an elegant waving plume ; and from the lower part hung narrow stripes of cloth, resembling a beard. We never saw these masks worn but twice, and both times by a number of people together in a canoe, who came to the side of the ship, laughing and drolling, with an air of masquerading. Whether they may not likewise be used as a defence for the head against stones, for which they seem best designed, or in some of their public games, or be merely intended for the purposes of mummery, we could never inform ourselves.

It has already been remarked, in a few instances, that the natives of the Sandwich Islands approach nearer to the New Zealanders, in their manners and customs, than to either of their less distant neighbours of the Society or Friendly Islands. This is in nothing more observable, than in their method of living together in small towns or villages, containing from about one hundred to two hundred houses, built pretty close together, without any order, and having a winding path leading through them. They are generally flanked toward the sea, with loose detached walls, which probably are meant both for the purposes of shelter and defence. The figure of their houses has been already described. They are of different sizes, from eighteen feet by twelve, to forty-five by twenty-four. There are some of a larger kind, being fifty feet long and thirty broad, and quite open at one end. These, they told us, were designed





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for travellers or strangers, who were only making a short stay.

In addition to the furniture of their houses, which has been accurately described, I have only to add, that at one end are mats on which they sleep, with wooden pillows, or sleeping stools, exactly like those of the Chinese. Some of the better sort of houses have a court-yard before them, neatly railed in, with smaller houses built round it, for their servants. In this area they generally eat, and sit during the day time. In the sides of the hills, and among the steep rocks, we also observed several holes or caves, which appeared to be inhabited; but as the entrance was defended with wicker-work, and we also found, in the only one that was visited, a stone fence running across it within, we imagine they are principally designed for places of retreat, in case of an attack from an enemy.

The food of the lower class of people consists principally of fish and vegetables, such as yams, sweet-potatoes, taro, plantains, sugar-canes, and bread-fruit. To these the people of a higher rank add the flesh of hogs and dogs, dressed in the same manner as at the Society Islands. They also eat fowls of the same domestic kind with ours; but they are neither plentiful nor much esteemed by them. It is remarked by Capt. Cook, that the bread-fruit and yams appeared scarce amongst them, and were reckoned great rarities. We found this not to be the case on our second visit; and it is therefore most probable, that, as these vegetables were generally planted in the interior parts of the country, the natives had not had time to bring them down to us during the short stay we made at Wymoa Bay. Their fish they salt, and preserve in gourd-shells; not, as we at first imagined, for the purpose of providing against any temporary scarcity, but from the preference they give to salted meats; for we also found that the Erees used to pickle pieces of pork in the same manner, and esteemed it a great delicacy.

• Their cookery is exactly of the same sort with that already described in the accounts that have been published of the other South Sea Islands ; and though Capt. Cook complains of the sourness of their tarrow puddings, yet, in justice to the many excellent meals they afforded us in Karakakooa Bay, I must be permitted to rescue them from this general censure, and to declare that I never eat better even in the Friendly Islands. It is however remarkable, that they had not got the art of preserving the bread-fruit, and making the sour paste of it called Maihee, as at the Society Islands ; and it was some satisfaction to us, in return for their great kindness and hospitality, to have it in our power to teach them this useful secret. They are exceedingly cleanly at their meals ; and their mode of dressing both their animal and vegetable food, was universally allowed to be greatly superior to ours. The chiefs constantly begin their meal with a dose of the extract of pepper-root, brewed after the usual manner. The women eat apart from the men, and are tabooed, or forbidden, as has been already mentioned, the use of pork, turtle, and particular kinds of plantains. However, they would eat pork with us in private ; but we could never prevail upon them to touch the two last articles.

The way of spending their time appears to be very simple, and to admit of little variety. They rise with the sun ; and, after enjoying the cool of the evening, retire to rest a few hours after sun-set. The making of canoes and mats forms the occupations of the Erees ; the women are employed in manufacturing cloth ; and the Towtows are principally engaged in the plantations and fishing. Their idle hours are filled up with various amusements. Their young men and women are fond of dancing ; and, on more solemn occasions, they have boxing and wrestling matches, after the manner of the Friendly Islands ; though, in all these respects, they are much inferior to the latter.

Their dances have a much nearer resemblance to those

of the New Zealanders, than of the Otaheiteans or Friendly Islanders. They are prefaced with a slow, solemn song, in which all the party join, moving their legs, and gently striking their breasts, in a manner, and with attitudes, that are perfectly easy and graceful; and so far they are the same with the dancers of the other Society Islands. When this has lasted about ten minutes, both the tune and motions gradually quicken, and end only by their inability to support the fatigue; which part of the performance is the exact counterpart of that of the New Zealanders; and (as it is among them) the person who uses the most violent action, and holds out the longest, is applauded as the best dancer. It is to be observed, that, in this dance, the women only take a part, and that the dancing of the men is nearly of the same kind with what we saw of the small parties at the Friendly Islands; and which may, perhaps, with more propriety be called the accompaniment of songs, with corresponding and graceful motions of the whole body. Yet, as we were spectators of boxing exhibitions of the same kind with those we were entertained with at the Friendly Islands, it is probable that they had likewise their grand ceremonious dances, in which numbers of both sexes assisted.

Their music is also of a ruder kind, having neither flutes nor reeds, nor instruments of any other sort, that we saw, except drums of various sizes. But their songs, which they sung in parts and accompany with a gentle motion of the arms, in the same manner as the Friendly Islanders, had a very pleasing effect.

This circumstance, of their singing in parts, has been much doubted by persons eminently skilled in music, and would be exceedingly curious if it was clearly ascertained, it is to be lamented that it cannot be more positively authenticated.

Capt. Burney, and Capt. Phillips, of the marines, who both have a tolerable knowledge of music, have given it as

their opinion, that they did sing in parts ; that is to say, that they sung together in different notes, which formed a pleasing harmony.

These gentlemen have fully testified that the Friendly Islanders undoubtedly studied their performances before they were exhibited in public ; that they had an idea of different notes being useful in harmony ; and also, that they rehearsed their compositions in private, and threw out the inferior voices, before they ventured to appear before those who were supposed to be judges of their skill in music.

In their regular concerts each man had a bamboo, which was of a different length and gave a different tone ; these they beat against the ground, and each performer, assisted by the note given by this instrument, repeated the same note, accompanying it by words, by which means it was rendered sometimes short and sometimes long. In this manner they sing in chorus, and not only produced octaves to each other, according to their different species of voice, but fell on concords, such as were not disagreeable to the ear. Now, to overturn this fact, by the reasoning of persons who did not hear these performances, is rather an arduous task. And yet there is great improbability that any uncivilized people should, by accident, arrive at this degree of perfection in the art of music, which we imagine can only be attained by dint of study, and knowledge of the system and theory upon which musical composition is founded. Such miserable jargon as our country psalm-singers practise, which may be justly deemed the lowest class of counter-point, or singing in several parts, cannot be acquired, in the coarse manner in which it is performed in the churches, without considerable time and practice. It is, therefore, scarcely credible, that a people, semi-barbarous, should naturally arrive at any perfection in that art, which it is much doubted whether the Greeks and Romans, with all their refinements in music, ever attained, and which the

Chinese, who have been longer civilized than any people on the globe, have not yet found out.

If Capt. Burney (who, by the testimony of his father, perhaps the greatest musical theorist of this or any other age, was able to have done it) had written down, in European notes, the concords that these people sing; and if these concords had been such as European ears could tolerate, there would have been no longer doubt of the fact; but, as it is, it would, in my opinion, be a rash judgment to venture to affirm that they did or did not understand counterpoint; and therefore I fear that this curious matter must be considered as still remaining undecided.

It is very remarkable that the people of these islands are great gamblers. They have a game very much like our draughts; but, if one may judge from the number of squares, it is much more intricate. The board is about two feet long, and is divided into two hundred and thirty-eight squares, of which there are fourteen in a row; and they make use of black and white pebbles, which they move from square to square.

There is another game, which consists in hiding a stone under a piece of cloth, which one of the parties spreads out, and rumples in such a manner that the place where the stone lies is difficult to be distinguished. The antagonist, with a stick, then strikes the part of the cloth where he imagines the stone to be; and as the chances are, upon the whole, considerably against his hitting it, odds, of all degrees, varying with the opinion of the skill of the parties, are laid on the side of him who hides.

Besides these games, they frequently amuse themselves with racing-matches between the boys and girls; and here again they wager with great spirit. I saw a man in a most violent rage, tearing his hair, and beating his breast, after losing three hatchets at one of these races, which he had just before purchased from us with half his substance.

Swimming is not only a necessary art, in which both their

men and women are more expert than any people we had hitherto seen, but a favourite diversion amongst them. One particular mode, in which they sometimes amused themselves with this exercise, in Karakakooa Bay, appeared to us most perilous and extraordinary, and well deserving a distinct relation. The surf, which breaks on the coast round the bay, extends to the distance of about one hundred and fifty yards from the shore, within which space the surges of the sea, accumulating from the shallowness of the water, are dashed against the beach with prodigious violence. Whenever, from stormy weather, or any extraordinary swell at sea, the impetuosity of the surf is increased to its utmost height, they choose that time for this amusement, which is performed in the following manner: twenty or thirty of the natives, taking each a long narrow board, rounded at the ends, set out together from the shore. The first wave they meet, they plunge under, and suffering it to roll over them, rise again beyond it, and make the best of their way, by swimming out into the sea. The second wave is encountered in the same manner with the first, the great difficulty consisting in seizing the proper moment of diving under it, which, if missed, the person is caught by the surf, and driven back again with great violence; and all his dexterity is then required to prevent himself from being dashed against the rocks. As soon as they have gained, by these repeated efforts, the smooth water beyond the surf, they lay themselves at length on their board, and prepare for their return. As the surf consists of a number of waves, of which every third is remarked to be always much larger than the others, and to flow higher on the shore, the rest breaking in the intermediate space, their first object is to place themselves on the summit of the largest surge, by which they are driven along with amazing rapidity towards the shore. If by mistake they should place themselves on one of the smaller waves, which breaks before they reach the land, or should not be able to keep



their plank in a proper direction on the top of the swell, they are left exposed to the fury of the next, and to avoid it, are obliged again to dive, and regain the place from which they set out. Those who succeed in their object of reaching the shore, have still the greatest danger to encounter. The coast being guarded by a chain of rocks, with here and there a small opening between them, they are obliged to steer their board through one of these, or in case of failure, to quit it, before they reach the rocks, and, plunging under the wave, make the best of their way back again. This is reckoned very disgraceful, and is also attended with the loss of the board, which I have often seen, with great terror, dashed to pieces, at the very moment the islanders quitted it. The boldness and address with which we saw them perform these difficult and dangerous manœuvres, were altogether astonishing, and is scarcely to be credited.

An accident, of which I was a near spectator, shews at how early a period they are so far familiarized to the water as both to lose all fears of it, and to set its dangers at defiance. A canoe being overset, in which was a woman with her children, one of them an infant, who I am convinced was not more than four years old, seemed highly delighted with what had happened, swimming about at its ease, and playing a hundred tricks, till the canoe was put to rights again.

Besides the amusements I have already mentioned, the young children have one, which was much played at, and shewed no small degree of dexterity. They take a short stick, with a peg sharpened at both ends, running through one extremity of it, and extending about an inch on each side; and throwing up a ball made of green leaves moulded together, and secured with twine, they catch it on the point of the peg; and immediately throwing it up again from the peg, they turn the stick round, and thus keep catching it on each peg alternately, without missing it, for a considerable time. They are not less expert at another game of the same

nature, tossing up in the air, and catching in their returns, a number of these balls ; so that we frequently saw little children thus keep in motion five at a time. With this latter play the young people likewise divert themselves at the Friendly Islands.

The great resemblance which prevails in the mode of agriculture and navigation, amongst all the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands, leaves me very little to add on those heads. Capt. Cook has already described the figure of the canoes we saw at Atooi. Those of the other islands were precisely the same ; and the largest we saw was a double canoe, belonging to Terreeoboo, which measured seventy feet in length, three and a half in depth, and twelve in breadth ; and each was hollowed out of one tree.

The progress they have made in sculpture, their skill in painting cloth, and their manufacturing of mats, have been described. The most curious specimens of the former, which we saw during our second visit, are the bowls in which the chiefs drink ava. These are usually about eight or ten inches in diameter, perfectly round, and beautifully polished. They are supported by three, and sometimes four, small human figures, in various attitudes. Some of them rest on the hands of their supporters, extended over the head ; others on the head and hands ; and some on the shoulders. The figures, I am told, are accurately proportioned, and neatly finished, and even the anatomy of the muscles, in supporting the weight, well expressed.

Their cloth is made of the same materials, and in the same manner, as at the Friendly and Society Islands. That which is designed to be painted is of a thick and strong texture, several folds being beat and incorporated together ; after which it is cut into breadths, of about two or three feet, and is painted in a variety of patterns, with a comprehensiveness and regularity of design that bespeaks infinite taste and fancy. The exactness with which the most intricate patterns are continued is the more surprising, when

we consider that they have no stamps, and that the whole is done by the eye, with pieces of bamboo cane dipped in paint; the hand being supported by another piece of cane, in the manner practised by our painters. Their colours are extracted from the same berries, and other vegetable substances, as at Otaheite.

The business of painting belongs entirely to the women and is called kipparee; and it is remarkable that they always gave the same name to our writing. The young women would often take the pen out of our hands, and shew us that they knew the use of it as well as we did; at the same time telling us, that our pens were not so good as theirs. They looked upon a sheet of written paper as a piece of cloth striped after the fashion of our country; and it was not without the utmost difficulty that we could make them understand that our figures had a meaning in them which theirs had not.

Their mats are made of the leaves of the pandanus; and, as their cloths, are beautifully worked in a variety of patterns, and stained of different colours. Some have a ground of pale green, spotted with squares or romboids of red; others are of a straw colour, spotted with green; and others are worked with beautiful stripes, either in straight or waving lines of red and brown. In this article of manufacture, whether we regard the strength, fineness, or beauty, they certainly excel the whole world.

Their fishing-hooks are made of mother-of-pearl, bone, or wood, pointed and barbed with small bones or tortoise-shell. They are of various sizes and forms, but the most common are about two or three inches long, and made in the shape of a small fish, which serves as a bait, having a bunch of feathers tied to the head or tail. Those with which they fish for sharks are of a very large size, being generally six or eight inches long. Considering the materials of which these hooks were made, their strength and

neatness are astonishing ; and in fact we found them, upon trial, much superior to our own.

The line which they use for fishing, for making nets, and for other domestic purposes, is of different degrees of fineness, and is made of the bark of the touta, or cloth-tree, neatly and evenly twisted, in the same manner as our common twine ; and may be continued to any length. They have a finer sort, made of the bark of a small shrub called areemah ; and the finest is made of human hair ; but this last is chiefly used for things of ornament. They also make cordage of a stronger kind, for the rigging of their canoes, from the fibrous coatings of the cocoa-nuts. Some of this we purchased for our own use, and found it well adapted to the smaller kinds of the running rigging. They likewise make another sort of cordage, which is flat, and exceedingly strong, and used principally in lashing the roofing of their houses, or whatever they wish to fasten tight together. This last is not twisted like the former sorts, but is made of the fibrous strings of the cocoa-nut's coat, plaited with the fingers, in the manner our sailors make their points for reefing of sails.

The gourds, which grow to so enormous a size that some of them are capable of containing from ten to twelve gallons, are applied to all manner of domestic purposes ; and in order to fit them the better for their respective uses, they have the ingenuity to give them different forms, by tying bandages round them during their growth. Thus some of them are of a long cylindrical form, as best adapted to contain their fishing tackle ; others are of a dish form, and these serve to hold their salt, and salted provisions, their puddings, vegetables, &c. which two sorts have neat close covers, made likewise of the gourd ; others again are exactly in the shape of a bottle with a long neck, and in these they keep their water. They have likewise a method of scoring them with a heated instrument, so as to give them the ap-

pearance of being painted in a variety of neat and elegant designs.

Amongst their arts, we must not forget that of making salt, with which we were amply supplied during our stay at these islands and which was perfectly good of its kind. Their salt-pans are made of earth, lined with clay; being generally six or eight feet square, and about eight inches deep. They are raised upon a bank of stones near the high water mark, from whence the salt water is conducted to the foot of them, in small trenches, out of which they are filled, and the sun quickly performs the necessary process of evaporation. The salt we procured at Atooi and Oneeheow, on our first visit, was of a brown and dirty sort; but that which we afterward got in Karakakooa Bay was white, and of a most excellent quality, and in great abundance. Besides the quantity we used in salting pork, we filled all our empty casks, amounting to sixteen puncheons, in the Resolution only.

Their instruments of war are spears, daggers called pahooas, clubs, and slings. The spears are of two sorts, and made of a hard solid wood, which has much the appearance of mahogany. One sort is from six to eight feet in length, finely polished, and gradually increasing in thickness from the extremity till within about half a foot of the point, which tapers suddenly, and is furnished with four or six rows of barbs. It is not improbable that these might be used in the way of darts. The other sort, with which we saw the warriors at Owhyhee and Atooi mostly armed, are twelve or fifteen feet long, and, instead of being barbed, terminate toward the point like their daggers.

The dagger, or pahooa, is made of heavy black wood, resembling ebony. Its length is from one to two feet, with a string passing through the handle, for the purpose of suspending it to the arm.

The clubs are made indifferently of several sorts of wood. They are of rude workmanship, of a variety of shapes and

sizes. The slings have nothing singular about them ; and in no respect differ from our common slings, except that the stone is lodged on a piece of matting instead of leather.

The people of these islands are manifestly divided into three classes. The first are the erees, or chiefs, of each district, one of whom is superior to the rest, and is called at Owhyhee eree-taboo, and eree-moe. By the first of these words they express his absolute authority ; and by the latter, that all are obliged to prostrate themselves (or put themselves to sleep, as the word signifies) in his presence. The second class are those who appear to enjoy a right of property without authority. The third are the towtoes, or servants, who have neither rank nor property.

It is not possible to give any thing like a systematical account of the subordination of these classes to each other, without departing from that strict veracity, which, in works of this nature, is more satisfactory than conjectures, however ingenious. I will, therefore, content myself with relating such facts as we were witnesses to ourselves, and such accounts as we thought could be depended upon ; and shall leave the reader to form from them his own ideas of the nature of their government. The great power and high rank of Terreeoboo the Ereetaboo of Owhyhee, was very evident, from the manner in which he was received at Karakakooa, on his first arrival. All the natives were seen prostrated at the entrance of their houses ; and the canoes, for two days before, were tabooed, or forbidden to go out, till he took off the restraint. He was at this time just returned from Mowee, for the possession of which he was contending in favour of his son Teewarro, who had married the daughter and only child of the late king of that island, against Taheeteree, his surviving brother. He was attended, in this expedition, by many of his warriors, but whether their service was voluntary, or the condition on which they hold their rank and property, we could not learn. That he collects tribute from the subordinate chiefs we had



a very striking proof in the instance of Kao, which has been already related in our transactions of the 2nd and 3rd of February.

I have before mentioned that the two most powerful chiefs of these islands are Terreeoboo of Owhyhee, and Pereorannee of Wohahoo; the rest of the smaller isles being subject to one or other of these; Mowee, and its dependencies, being at this time claimed, as we have just observed, by Terreeoboo, for Teewarro his son, and intended successor; Atooi and Oneeheow being governed by the grandsons of Perreorannee.

The power of the Erees over the inferior classes of people appears to be very absolute. Many instances of this occurred daily during our stay amongst them, and have been already related. The people, on the other hand, pay them the most implicit obedience, and this state of servility has manifestly had a great effect in debasing both their minds and bodies. It is, however, remarkable that the chiefs were never guilty, as far at least as came within my knowledge, of any acts of cruelty or injustice, or even of insolent behaviour towards them; though, at the same time, they exercised their power over one another in the most haughty and oppressive manner. Of this I shall give two instances. A chief of the lower order had behaved with great civility to the master of the ship, when he went to examine Karakakooa Bay, the day before the ship first arrived there, and, in return, I afterwards carried him on board, and introduced him to Capt. Cook, who invited him to dine with us. While we were at table, Pareea entered, whose face but too plainly manifested his indignation at seeing our guest in so honourable a situation. He immediately seized him by the hair of the head, and was proceeding to drag him out of the cabin, when the captain interfered, and after a great deal of altercation, all the indulgence we could obtain, without coming to a quarrel with Pareea was, that our guest should be suffered to remain, being seated upon

the floor, whilst Pareea filled his place at the table. At another time, when Terreeoboo first came on board the *Resolution*, Maiha-maiah, who attended him, finding Pareea on deck, turned him out of the ship in the most ignominious manner; and yet Pareea we certainly knew to be a man of the first consequence.

How far the property of the lower class is secured against the rapacity and despotism of the great chiefs, I cannot say, but it should seem that it is sufficiently protected against private theft, or mutual depredation; for not only their plantations, which are spread over the whole country, but also their houses, their hogs, and their cloth, were left unguarded, without the smallest apprehensions. I have already remarked, that they not only separate their possessions by walls in the plain country, but that, in the woods likewise, wherever the horse-plantains grow, they make use of small white flags in the same manner, and for the same purpose of discriminating property, as they do bunches of leaves at Otaheite. All which circumstances, if they do not amount to proofs, are strong indications that the power of the chiefs, where property is concerned, is not arbitrary, but at least so far circumscribed and ascertained, as to make it worth the while for the inferior orders to cultivate the soil, and to occupy their possessions distinct from each other.

With respect to the administration of justice, all the information we could collect was very imperfect and confined. Whenever any of the lowest class of people had a quarrel amongst themselves, the matter in dispute was referred to the decision of some chief, probably the chief of the district, or the person to whom they appertained. If an inferior chief had given cause of offence to one of a higher rank, the feelings of the latter at the moment seemed the only measure of his punishment. If he had the good fortune to escape the first transports of his superior's rage, he generally found means, through the mediation of some third person, to

compound for his crime by a part or the whole of his property and effects. These were the only facts that came to our knowledge on this head.

The religion of these people resembles, in most of its principal features, that of the Society and Friendly Islands. Their morais, their whattas, their idols, their sacrifices, and their sacred songs, all of which they have in common with each other, are convincing proofs that their religious notions are derived from the same source. In the length and number of their ceremonies this branch indeed far exceeds the rest ; and though in all these countries there is a certain class of men to whose care the performance of their religious rites is committed, yet, we had never met with a regular society of priests, till we discovered the cloisters of Kakooa in Karakakooa Bay. The head of this order was called Orono ; a title which we imagined to imply something highly sacred, and which, in the person of Omeeah, was honoured almost to adoration. It is probable that the privilege of entering into this order (at least as to the principal offices in it), is limited to certain families. Omeeah, the Orono, was the son of Kaoo, and the uncle of Kairee-keea, which last presided, during the absence of his grandfather, in all religious ceremonies at the Morai. It was also remarked, that the child of Omeeah, an only son, about five years old, was never suffered to appear without a number of attendants, and such other marks of care and solicitude, as we saw no other like instance of. This seemed to indicate that his life was an object of the greatest moment, and that he was destined to succeed to the high rank of his father.

It has been mentioned, that the title of Orono, with all its honours, was given to Capt. Cook ; and it is also certain that they regarded us generally as a race of people superior to themselves ; and used to say, the great Eatooa dwelled in our country. The little image, which we have before described as the favourite idol on the Morai in Ka-

rakakoo Bay, they call Koonooraekaiee, and said it was Terreeoboo's god, and that he also resided amongst us. There are found an infinite variety of these images both on the morais, and within and without their houses, to which they give different names; but it soon became obvious to us in how little estimation they were held, from their frequent expressions of contempt of them, and from their even offering them to sale for trifles. At the same time there seldom failed to be some one particular figure in favour, to which, whilst this preference lasted, all their adoration was addressed. This consisted in arraying it in red cloth, beating their drums, and singing hymns before it, laying bunches of red feathers and different sorts of vegetables, at its feet, and exposing a pig or a dog to rot on the whatta that stood near it.

In a bay to the southward of Karakakooa, a party of our gentlemen were conducted to a large house, in which they found the black figure of a man, resting on his fingers and toes, with his head inclined backward, the limbs well formed and exactly proportioned, and the whole beautifully polished. This figure the natives call Mace; and round it were placed thirteen others of rude and distorted shapes, which they said were the Eatooas of several deceased chiefs, whose names they recounted. The place was full of whattas, on which lay the remains of their offerings. They likewise give a place in their houses to many ludicrous and some obscene idols.

It hath been remarked, by former voyagers, that both among the Society and Friendly Islanders, an adoration is paid to particular birds; and I am led to believe that the same custom prevails here; and that probably the raven is the object of it, from seeing two of these birds tame at the village of Kakooa, which they told me were Eatooas, and refusing every thing I offered for them, cautioned me, at the same time, not to hurt or offend them.

Amongst their religious ceremonies may be reckoned the

prayers and offerings made by the priests before their meals. Whilst the ava is chewing, of which they always drink before they begin their repast, the person of the highest rank takes the lead in a sort of hymn, in which he is presently joined by one, two, or more of the company; the rest moving their bodies, and striking their hands gently together, in concert with the singers. When the ava is ready, cups of it are handed about to those who do not join in the song, which they keep in their hands till it is ended; when uniting in one loud response, they drink off their cup. The performers of the hymn are then served with ava, who drink it after a repetition of the same ceremony; and if there be present one of a very superior rank, a cup is, last of all, presented to him, which, after chanting some time alone, and being answered by the rest, and pouring a little out on the ground, he drinks off. A piece of the flesh that is dressed is next cut off, without any selection of the part of the animal, which, together with some of the vegetables, being deposited at the foot of the image of the Eatooa, and a hymn chanted, their meal commences. A ceremony of much the same kind is also performed by the chiefs, whenever they drink ava between their meals.

Human sacrifices are more frequent here, according to the account of the natives themselves, than in any other islands we visited. These horrid rites are not only had recourse to upon the commencement of war, and preceding great battles and other signal enterprizes, but the death of any considerable chief calls for a sacrifice of one or more towtoos, according to his rank; and we were told, that ten men were destined to suffer on the death of Terreeoboo. The unhappy victims have not the most distant intimation of their fate. Those who are fixed upon to fall, are set upon with clubs wherever they happen to be, and, after being dispatched, are brought dead to the place, where the remainder of the rites are completed. The reader will here call to his remembrance the skulls of the captives that had

been sacrificed at the death of some great chief, and which were fixed on the rails round the top of the morai at Kookooa. We got a farther piece of intelligence upon this subject at the village of Kowrowa; where, on our inquiring into the use of a small piece of ground, inclosed with a stone fence, we were told that it was an Here-eere, or burying-ground of a chief; and there, added our informer, pointing to one of the corners, lie the tangata and waheene taboo, or the man and woman who were sacrificed at his funeral.

To this class of their customs may also be referred that of knocking out their fore-teeth. Scarce any of the lower people, and very few of the chiefs, were seen who had not lost one or more of them; and we always understood that this voluntary punishment, like the cutting off the joints of the finger at the Friendly Islands, was not inflicted on themselves from the violence of grief on the death of their friends, but was designed as a propitiatory sacrifice to the Eatooa, to avert any danger or mischief to which they might be exposed.

We were able to learn but little of their notions with regard to a future state. Whenever we asked them whither the dead were gone? we were always answered, that the breath, which they appeared to consider as the soul, or immortal part, was gone to the Eatooa; and, on pushing our inquiries farther, they seemed to describe some particular place, where they imagined the abode of the deceased to be; but we could not perceive that they thought in this state, either rewards or punishments awaited them.

I shall, in this place, lay before the reader the particular instances that fell under our observation of the meaning of the taboo. On our inquiring into the reasons of the interdiction of all intercourse between us and the natives, the day preceding the arrival of Terreecobo, we were told that the bay was tabooed. The same restriction took place, at our request, the day we interred the bones of Capt. Cook. In these two instances the natives paid the most implicit and scru-



pulous obedience, but whether on any religious principle, or merely in deference to the civil authority of their chiefs, I cannot determine. When the ground near our observatories, and the place where our masts lay, were tabooed, by sticking small wands round them, this operated in a manner not less efficacious. But though this mode of consecration was performed by the priests only, yet still, as the men ventured to come within the space, when invited by us, it should seem that they were under no religious apprehensions, and that their obedience was limited to our refusal only. The women could, by no means, be induced to come near us, but this was probably on account of the morai adjoining, which they are prohibited, at all times, and in all the islands of those seas, from approaching. Mention hath been already made, that women are always tabooed, or forbidden to eat certain kind of meats. We also frequently saw several at their meals, who had the meat put into their mouths by others; and, on our asking the reason of this singularity, were told that they were tabooed or forbidden to feed themselves. This prohibition, we understood, was always laid on them after they had assisted at any funeral, or touched a dead body, and also on other occasions. It is necessary to observe, that on these occasions they apply the word taboo indifferently both to persons and things. Thus they say, the natives were tabooed, or the bay was tabooed, and so of the rest. This word is also used to express any thing sacred, or eminent, or devoted. Thus the king of Owhyhee was called Ereetaboo; a human victim, tangata-taboo; and, in the same manner, among the Friendly Islanders, Tonga, the island where the king resides, is named Tongataboo.

Concerning their marriages, I can afford the reader little farther satisfaction than informing him, that such a relation or compact exists amongst them. I have already had occasion to mention, that at the time Terreeoboo had left his queen Rora-rora at Mowee, he was attended by another woman, by whom he had children, and to whom he was

very much attached ; but how far polygamy, properly speaking, is allowed, or how far it is mixed with concubinage, either with respect to the king, the chiefs, or among the inferior orders, too few facts came to our knowledge to justify any conclusions. It hath also been observed, that, except Kaneekabareea, and the wife of the Orono, with three women whom I shall have occasion hereafter to mention, we never saw any female of high rank. From what I had an opportunity of observing of the domestic concerns of the lowest class, the house seemed to be under the direction of one man and woman, and the children in the like state of subordination as in civilized countries.

It will not be improper, in this place, to take notice, that we were eye-witnesses of a fact, which, as it was the only instance we saw of any thing like jealousy among them, shews, at the same time, that not only fidelity, but a degree of reserve, is required from the married women of consequence. At one of the entertainments of boxing, Omeeah was observed to rise from his place two or three times, and to go up to his wife with strong marks of displeasure, ordering her, as it appeared to us from his manner, to withdraw. Whether it was, that being very handsome, he thought she drew too much of our attention, or without being able to determine what other reason he might have for his conduct, it is but justice to say, that there existed no real cause of jealousy. However, she kept her place, and when the entertainment was over, joined our party, and soliciting some trifling presents, was given to understand that we had none about us, but that if she would accompany us towards our tent, she should return with such as she liked best. She was accordingly walking along with us, which Omeeha observing, followed in a violent rage, and seizing her by the hair, began to inflict, with his fists, a severe corporal punishment. The sight, especially as we had innocently been the cause of it, gave us

much concern ; and yet we were told, that it would be highly improper to interfere between man and wife of such high rank. We were, however, not left without the consolation of seeing the natives at last interpose, and had the farther satisfaction of meeting them together the next day, in perfect good humour with each other ; and, what is still more singular, the lady would not suffer us to remonstrate with her husband on his treatment of her, which we were much inclined to do, and plainly told us, that he had done no more than he ought.

Whilst I was ashore at the observatory at Karnakakooa Bay, I had twice an opportunity of seeing a considerable part of their funeral rites. Intelligence was brought me of the death of an old chief in a house near our observatories, soon after the event happened. On going to the place, I found a number of people assembled, and seated round a square area, fronting the house in which the deceased lay, whilst a man, in a red feathered cap, advanced from an interior part of the house to the door, and, putting out his head, at almost every moment uttered a most lamentable howl, accompanied with the most singular grimaces and violent distortions of his face that can be conceived. After this had passed a short time, a large mat was spread upon the area, and two men and thirteen women came out of the house and sat themselves down upon it, in three equal rows ; the two men and three of the women being in front. The necks and hands of the women were decorated with feathered ruffs ; and broad green leaves, curiously scalloped, were spread over their shoulders. At one corner of this area, near a small hut, were half a dozen boys, waving small white banners, and the tufted wands, or taboo sticks, who would not permit us to approach them. This led me to imagine that the dead body might be deposited in this little hut ; but I afterwards understood, that it was in the house where the man in the red cap opened the rites, by playing his tricks at the door. The company just mentioned

being seated on the mat, began to sing a melancholy tune, accompanied with a slow and gentle motion of the body and arms. When this had continued some time, they raised themselves on their knees, and, in a posture between kneeling and sitting, began by degrees to move their arms and their bodies with great rapidity, the tune always keeping pace with their motions. As these last exertions were too violent to continue long, they resumed, at intervals, their slower movements; and, after this performance had lasted an hour, more mats were brought and spread upon the area, and four or five elderly women, amongst whom I was told was the dead chief's wife, advanced slowly out of the house, and seating themselves in the front of the first company, began to cry and wail most bitterly; the women in the three rows behind joining them, whilst the two men inclined their heads over them in a very melancholy and pensive attitude. At this period of the rites, I was obliged to leave them to attend at the observatory; but returning within half an hour, found them in the same situation. I continued with them till late in the evening, and left them proceeding, with little variation, as just described; resolving, however, to attend early in the morning, to see the remainder of the ceremony. On my arrival at the house, as soon as it was day, I found, to my mortification, the crowd dispersed, and every thing quiet, and was given to understand, that the corpse was removed; nor could I learn in what manner it was disposed of. I was interrupted in making farther inquiries for this purpose, by the approach of three women of rank, who, whilst their attendants stood near them with their fly-flaps, sat down by us, and, entering into conversation, soon made me comprehend that our presence was a hindrance to the performance of some necessary rites. I had hardly got out of sight, before I heard their cries and lamentations; and meeting them a few hours afterwards, I found they had painted the lower part of their faces perfectly black.

The other opportunity I had of observing these ceremonies, was in the case of an ordinary person ; when, on hearing some mournful female cries issue from a miserable looking hut, I ventured into it, and found an old woman with her daughter, weeping over the body of an elderly man, who had but just expired, being still warm. The first step they took was to cover the body with cloth, after which, lying down by it, they drew the cloth over themselves, and then began a mournful kind of song, frequently repeating, *Aweh medoaah ! Aweh tanee ! Oh my father ! Oh my husband !* A younger daughter was also at the same time lying prostrate, in a corner of the house, covered over with black cloth, repeating the same words. On leaving this melancholy scene, I found at the door a number of their neighbours collected together, and listening to their cries with profound silence. I was resolved not to miss this opportunity of seeing in what manner they dispose of the body ; and therefore, after satisfying myself before I went to bed that it was not then removed, I gave orders that the sentries should walk backward and forward before the house, and, in case they suspected any measures were taking for the removal of the body, to give me immediate notice. However, the sentries had not kept a good look-out, for in the morning I found the body was gone. On inquiring what they had done with it ? They pointed towards the sea ; indicating most probably thereby that it had been committed to the deep, or perhaps that it had been carried beyond the bay, to some burying place in another part of the country. The chiefs are interred in the morais, or heree-erees, with the men sacrificed on the occasion, by the side of them ; and we observed that the morai, where the chief had been buried, who, as I have already mentioned, was killed in the cave after so stout a resistance, was hung round with red cloth.

On the 15th of March, at seven in the morning, we weighed anchor, and passing to the north of Tahoorā, stood

on to the south-west, in hopes of falling in with the island of Modoopapappa, which, we were told by the natives, lay in that direction, about five hours sail from Tahoorā. At four in the afternoon, we were overtaken by a stout canoe, with ten men, who were going from Oneeheow to Tahoorā, to kill tropic and man-of-war birds, with which that place was said to abound. The feathers of these birds are in great request, being much used in making their cloaks and other ornamental parts of their dress.

At eight, having seen nothing of the island, we hauled the wind to the northward till midnight, and then tacked, and stood on a wind to the south-east till day-light next morning, at which time Tahoorā bore east-north-east, five or six leagues distant. We afterwards steered west-south-west, and made the Discovery's signal to spread four miles upon our starboard beam. At noon our latitude was  $21^{\circ} 27'$ , and our longitude  $198^{\circ} 42'$ ; and having stood on till five, in the same direction, we made the Discovery's signal to come under our stern, and gave over all hopes of seeing Modoopapappa. We conceived that it might probably lie in a more southerly direction from Tahoorā than that in which we had steered; though, after all, it is possible that we might have passed it in the night, as the islanders described it to be very small, and almost even with the surface of the sea.

The next day we steered west; it being Capt. Clerke's intention to keep as near as possible in the same parallel of latitude, till we should make the longitude of Awatska Bay; afterwards to steer due north for the harbour of Saint Peter and Saint Paul in that bay; which was also appointed for our rendezvous in case of separation. This track was chosen on account of its being, as far as we knew, unexplored; and we were not without hopes of falling in with some new island on our passage.

We had scarcely seen a bird since our losing sight of Tahoorā, till the 18th in the afternoon, when, the appear-



ance of a great many boobies, and some man-of-war birds, made us keep a sharp look-out for land. Toward evening the wind lessened, and the north-east swell, which, on the 16th and 17th, had been so heavy as to make the ships labour exceedingly, was much abated. The next day we saw no appearance of land; and at noon, we steered a point more to the southward, viz. west by south, in the hopes of finding the trade winds, which blew almost invariably from the east by north, fresher as we advanced within the tropic. It is somewhat singular that, though we saw no birds in the forenoon, yet towards evening we had again a number of boobies and man-of-war birds about us. This seemed to indicate that we had passed the land from whence the former flights had come, and that we were approaching some other low island.

On the 26th, in the morning, we thought we saw land to the west-south-west, but, after running about sixteen leagues in that direction, we found our mistake; and night coming on, we again steered west. Our latitude, at this time, was  $19^{\circ} 45'$ , which was the greatest southing we made in this run; our longitude was  $183^{\circ}$ , and variation  $12^{\circ} 45'$  east. We continued in this course, with little alteration in the wind, till the 29th, when it shifted to the south-east and south-south-east, and, for a few hours in the night, it was in the west; the weather being dark and cloudy, with much rain. We had met, for some days past, several turtles, one of which was the smallest I ever saw, not exceeding three iaches in length. We were also accompanied by man-of-war birds, and boobies of an unusual kind, being quite white, except the tip of the wing, which was black, and easily mistaken, at first sight, for gannets.

The light winds which we had met with for some time past, with the present unsettled state of the weather, and the little appearance of any change for the better, induced Capt. Clerke to alter his plan of keeping within the tro-

pical latitudes; and accordingly, at six this evening, we began to steer north-west by north, at which time our latitude was  $20^{\circ} 23'$ , and our longitude  $180^{\circ} 40'$ . During the continuance of the light winds, which prevailed almost constantly ever since our departure from the Sandwich Islands, the weather was very close, and the air hot and sultry; the thermometer being generally at  $80^{\circ}$ , and sometimes at  $83^{\circ}$ . All this time we had a considerable swell from the north-east; and in no period of the voyage did the ships roll and strain so violently.

In the morning of the first of April, the wind changed from the south-east to the north-east by east, and blew a fresh breeze till the morning of the 4th, when it altered two points more to the east, and by noon increased to a strong gale, which lasted till the afternoon of the 5th, attended with hazy weather. It then again altered its direction to the south-east, became more moderate, and was accompanied with heavy showers of rain. During all this time, we kept steering to the north-west against a slow but regular current from that quarter, which caused a constant variation from our reckoning by the log, of fifteen miles a day. On the 4th, being then in the latitude of  $26^{\circ} 17'$ , and longitude  $170^{\circ} 30'$ , we passed prodigious quantities of what sailors call Portuguese men-of-war (*holothuria physalis*), and were also accompanied with a great number of sea-birds, amongst which we observed, for the first time, the albatross and sheerwater.

On the 6th, at noon, we lost the trade wind, and were suddenly taken a-back, with the wind from the north-north-west. At this time our latitude was  $29^{\circ} 50'$ , and our longitude  $170^{\circ} 1'$ . As the old running ropes were constantly breaking in the late gales, we reeved what new ones we had left, and made such other preparations as were necessary for the very different climate with which we were now shortly to encounter. The fine weather we met with between the tropics had not been idly spent. The carpenters found suf-

ficient employment in repairing the boats. The best bower cable had been so much damaged by the foul ground in Karakakooa Bay, and whilst we were at anchor off Onee-heow, that we were obliged to cut forty fathoms from it; in converting of which, with other old cordage into spun-yarn, and applying it to different uses, a considerable part of the people were kept constantly employed by the boatswain. The airing of sails and other stores, which, from the leakiness of the decks and sides of the ships, were perpetually subject to be wet, had now become a frequent as well as a laborious and troublesome part of our duty.

Besides these cares, which had regard only to the ships themselves, there were others, which had for their object the preservation of the health of the crews, that furnished a constant occupation to a great number of our hands. The standing orders, established by Capt. Cook, of airing the bedding, placing fires between deck, washing them with vinegar, and smoking them with gunpowder, were observed without any intermission. For some time past, even the operation of mending the sailors' old jackets had risen into a duty both of difficulty and importance. It may be necessary to inform those who are unacquainted with the disposition and habits of seamen, that they are so accustomed in ships of war to be directed in the care of themselves by their officers, that they lose the very idea of foresight, and contract the thoughtlessness of infants. I am sure, that if our people had been left to their own discretion alone, we should have had the whole crew naked, before the voyage had been half finished. It was natural to expect, that their experience, during our voyage to the north last year, would have made them sensible of the necessity of paying some attention to these matters; but if such reflections ever occurred to them, their impression was so transitory, that upon our return to the tropical climates, their fur jackets, and the rest of their cold country clothes, were kicked about the decks as things of no value; though it was generally known

in both ships, that we were to make another voyage toward the pole. They were of course picked up by the officers ; and being put into casks, restored about this time to the owners.

In the afternoon we observed some of the sheathing floating by the ship ; and on examination found that twelve or fourteen feet had been washed off from under the larboard bow, where we supposed the leak to have been ; which ever since our leaving the Sandwich Islands, had kept the people almost constantly at the pumps, making twelve inches water an hour. This day we saw a number of small crabs, of a pale blue colour ; and had again, in company, a few albatrosses and sheerwaters. The thermometer in the night time sunk eleven degrees ; and although it remained as high as  $59^{\circ}$ , yet we suffered much from the cold, our feelings being as yet by no means reconciled to that degree of temperature.

On the ninth, at noon, our latitude was  $32^{\circ} 16'$ , our longitude  $166^{\circ} 40'$ , and the variation  $8^{\circ} 30'$  east. And on the 10th, having crossed the track of the Spanish galleons from the Manillas to Acapulco, we expected to have fallen in with the island of Rica de Plata, which according to De Lisle's chart, in which the route of those ships is laid down, ought to have been in sight ; its latitude, as there given, being  $33^{\circ} 30'$  north, and its longitude  $166^{\circ}$  east. Notwithstanding we were so far advanced to the northward, we saw several other kinds of sea-birds ; such as puffins, sea-parrots, sheerwaters, and albatrosses.

On the 11th, at noon, we were in latitude  $35^{\circ} 30'$ , longitude  $165^{\circ} 45'$  ; and during the course of the day, had sea-birds as before, and passed several bunches of sea-weed. About the same time, the Discovery passed a log of wood ; but no other signs of land were seen. The next day the wind came gradually round to the east, and increased to so strong a gale, as obliged us to strike our top-gallant yards, and brought us under the lower sails, and the main top-sail

close reeved. Unfortunately we were upon that tack, which was the most disadvantageous for our leak. But as we had always been able to keep it under with the hand pumps, it gave us no great uneasiness till the 13th, about six in the afternoon, when we were greatly alarmed by a sudden inundation, that deluged the whole space between decks. The water, which had lodged in the coal-hole, not finding a sufficient vent into the well, had forced up the platforms over it, and in a moment set every thing afloat. Our situation was indeed exceedingly distressing; nor did we immediately see any means of relieving ourselves. A pump, through the upper decks into the coal-hole, could answer no end, as it would very soon have been choaked up by the small coals; and to bale the water out with buckets was become impracticable, from the number of bulky materials that were washed out of the gunner's store-room into it, and which, by the ship's motion, were tossed violently from side to side. No other method was therefore left, but to cut a hole through the bulkhead (or partition) that separated the coal-hole from the fore-hold, and by that means to make a passage for the body of water into the well. However before that could be done, it was necessary to get the casks of dry provisions out of the forehold, which kept us employed the greatest part of the night: so that the carpenters could not get at the partition till the next morning. As soon as the passage was made, the greatest part of the water emptied itself into the well, and enabled us to get out the rest with buckets. But the leak was now so much increased, that we were obliged to keep one half of the people constantly pumping and baling, till the noon of the 15th. Our men bore with great cheerfulness this excessive fatigue, which was much increased by their having no dry place to sleep in; on this account we began to serve their full allowance of grog.

The weather now becoming more moderate, and the swell less heavy, we were enabled to clear away the rest of the

casks from the fore-hold, and to open a sufficient passage for the water to the pumps. This day we saw a greenish piece of drift wood, and fancying the water coloured, we sounded, but got no bottom with a hundred and sixty fathoms of line. Our latitude at noon this day was  $41^{\circ} 52'$ , longitude  $161^{\circ} 51'$ : variation  $6^{\circ} 30'$  east; and the wind soon after veering to the northward, we altered our course three points to the west.

On the 16th at noon, we were in the latitude of  $42^{\circ} 12'$  and in the longitude of  $160^{\circ} 5'$ ; and as we were now approaching the place where a great extent of land is said to have been seen by De Gama, we were glad of the opportunity which the course we were steering gave, of contributing to remove the doubts, if any should be still entertained, respecting the falsehood of this pretended discovery.

During the whole day the wind was exceedingly unsettled, being seldom steady to two or three points, and blowing in fresh gusts, which were succeeded by dead calms. These were not unpromising appearances; but after standing off and on the whole of this day, without seeing any thing of the land, we again steered to the northward, not thinking it worth our while to lose time in search of an object, the opinion of whose existence had been already pretty generally exploded. Our people were employed the whole of the 16th, in getting their wet things dry, and in airing the ships below.

We now began to feel very sharply the increasing inclemency of the northern climate. In the morning of the 18th, our latitude being  $45^{\circ} 40'$ , and our longitude  $160^{\circ} 25'$ , we had snow and sleet, accompanied with strong gales from the south-west. This circumstance will appear very remarkable, if we consider the season of the year, and the quarter from which the wind blew. On the 19th, the thermometer in the day-time remained at the freezing point, and at four in the morning fell to  $20^{\circ}$ . If the reader will take the trouble to compare the degree of heat, during the



hot sultry weather we had at the beginning of this month, with the extreme cold which we now endured, he will conceive how severely so rapid a change must have been felt by us.

In the gale of the 18th, we had split almost all the sails we had bent, which being our second best suit, we were now reduced to make use of our last and best set. To add to Capt. Clerke's difficulties, the sea was in general so rough, and the ship so leaky, that the sail-makers had no place to repair the sails in, except his apartments, which in his declining state of health was a serious inconvenience to him.

On the 20th at noon, being in latitude  $49^{\circ} 45'$  north, and longitude  $161^{\circ} 15'$  east, and eagerly expecting to fall in with the coast of Asia, the wind shifted suddenly to the north, and continued in the same quarter the following day. However, although it retarded our progress, yet the fair weather it brought was no small refreshment to us. In the forenoon of the 21st we saw a whale and a land-bird; and in the afternoon the water looking muddy, we sounded, but got no ground with an hundred and forty fathoms of line. During the three preceding days, we saw large flocks of wild fowl, of a species resembling ducks. This is usually considered as a proof of the vicinity of land, but we had no other signs of it since the 16th; in which time we had run upwards of an hundred and fifty leagues.

On the 22nd the wind shifted to the north-east, attended with misty weather. The cold was exceedingly severe, and the ropes were so frozen that it was with difficulty we could force them through the blocks. At noon, the latitude, by account, was  $51^{\circ} 38'$ , longitude  $160^{\circ} 7'$ ; and on comparing our present position with that given to the southern parts of Kamtschatka, in the Russian charts, Capt. Clerke did not think it prudent to run on towards the land all night.

On the 23rd, at six in the morning, being in latitude

52° 9', and longitude 160° 7', on the fog clearing away, the land appeared in mountains covered with snow; and extending from north three quarters east, to south-west; a high conical rock, bearing south-west, three quarters west at four leagues distance. We had no sooner taken this imperfect view, than we were again covered with a thick fog. Being now, according to our maps, only eight leagues from the entrance of Awatska Bay, as soon as the weather cleared up we stood in to take a nearer view of the land; and a more dismal and dreary prospect I never beheld. The coast appears strait and uniform, having no inlets or bays; the ground from the shore rises in hills of a moderate elevation, behind which are ranges of mountains, whose summits were lost in the clouds. The whole scene was entirely covered with snow, except the sides of some of the cliffs which rose too abruptly from the sea for the snow to lie upon them.

The wind continued blowing very strong from the north-east, with thick hazy weather and sleet, from the 24th to the 28th. During the whole time, the thermometer was never higher than 30½°. The ship appeared to be a complete mas of ice; the shrowds were so incrustated with it, as to measure in circumference more than double their usual size; and, in short, the experience of the oldest seaman among us had never met with any thing like the continued showers of sleet and the extreme cold which we now encountered. Indeed the severity of the weather, added to the great difficulty of working the ships, and the labour of keeping the pumps constantly going, rendered the service too hard for many of the crew, some of whom were frost-bitten, and others laid up with bad colds. We continued all this time standing four hours on each tack, having generally soundings of sixty fathoms, when about three leagues from the land, but none at twice that distance. On the 25th we had a transient view of the entrance of Awatska Bay; but, in the present state of the weather, we were

afraid of venturing into it. Upon our standing off again we lost sight of the *Discovery* ; but, as we were now so near the place of rendezvous, this gave us no great uneasiness.

On the 28th, in the morning, the weather at last cleared, and the wind fell to a light breeze from the same quarter as before. We had a fine warm day ; and, as we now began to expect a thaw, the men were employed in breaking the ice from off the rigging, masts, and sails, in order to prevent its falling on our heads. At noon, being in the latitude of  $52^{\circ} 44'$ , and the longitude of  $159^{\circ}$ , the entrance of Awatska Bay bore north-west, distant three or four leagues ; and, about three in the afternoon, a fair wind sprung up from the southward, with which we stood in, having regular soundings, from twenty-two to seven fathoms.

The mouth of the bay opens in a north-north-west direction. The land, on the south side, is of a moderate height ; to the northward it rises into a bluff head, which is the highest part of the coast. In the channel between them, near the north-east side, lie three remarkable rocks ; and farther in, near the opposite coast, a single detached rock of a considerable size. On the north head there is a look-out house, which, when the Russians expect any of their ships upon the coast, is used as a light-house. There was a flag-staff on it, but we saw no sign of any person being there.

Having passed the mouth of the bay, which is about four miles long, we opened a large circular bason of twenty-five miles in circumference ; and, at half past four, came to an anchor in six fathoms water, being afraid of running foul on a shoal, or some sunk rocks, which are said by Muller to lie in the channel of the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul. The middle of the bay was full of loose ice, drifting with the tide ; but the shores were still entirely blocked up with it. Great flocks of wild-fowl were seen of various species ; likewise ravens, eagles, and large flights of

Greenland pigeons. We examined every corner of the bay with our glasses, in search of the town of St. Peter and St. Paul ; which, according to the accounts given us at Oonalashka, we had conceived to be a place of some strength and consideration. At length we discovered, on a narrow point of land to the north-north-east, a few miserable log houses, and some conical huts, raised on poles, amounting in all to about thirty ; which, from their situation, notwithstanding all the respect we wished to entertain for a Russian ostrog, we were under the necessity of concluding to be Petropaulowska. However, in justice to the generous and hospitable treatment we found here, I shall beg leave to anticipate the reader's curiosity, by assuring him that our disappointment proved to be more of a laughable than a serious nature. For, in this wretched extremity of the earth, situated beyond every thing that we conceived to be most barbarous and inhospitable, and, as it were, out of the very reach of civilization, barricadoed with ice, and covered with summer snow, in a poor miserable port, far inferior to the meanest of our fishing towns, we met with feelings of humanity, joined to a greatness of mind, and elevation of sentiment, which would have done honour to any nation or climate.

During the night much ice drifted by us with the tide, and at day-light I was sent with the boats to examine the bay, and deliver the letters we had brought from Oonalashka, to the Russian commander. We directed our course towards the village I have just mentioned, and having proceeded as far as we were able with the boats, we got upon the ice, which extended near half a mile from the shore. Mr. Webber, and two of the seamen, accompanied me, whilst the master took the pinnace and cutter to finish the survey, leaving the jolly-boat behind to carry us back.

I believe the inhabitants had not yet seen either the ship or the boats ; for even after we had got on the ice, we could not perceive any signs of a living creature in the

town. By the time we had advanced a little way on the ice, we observed a few men hurrying backward and forward, and presently after a sledge drawn by dogs, with one of the inhabitants in it, came down to the sea-side, opposite to us. Whilst we were gazing at this unusual sight, and admiring the great civility of this stranger, which we imagined had brought him to our assistance, the man, after viewing us for some time very attentively, turned short round, and went off with great speed toward the ostrog. We were not less chagrined than disappointed at his abrupt departure, as we began to find our journey over the ice attended not only with great difficulty but even with danger. We sunk at every step almost knee deep in the snow, and though we found tolerable footing at the bottom, yet the weak parts of the ice not being discoverable, we were constantly exposed to the risk of breaking through it. This accident at last happened to myself; for stepping on quickly over a suspicious spot, in order to press with less weight upon it, I came upon a second, before I could stop myself, which broke under me, and in I fell. Luckily I rose clear of the ice, and a man that was a little way behind with a boat-hook, throwing it to me, I laid it across some loose pieces near me, and by that means was enabled to get upon firm ice again.

As we approached the shore, we found the ice, contrary to our expectations, more broken than it had been before. We were however again comforted by the sight of another sledge coming toward us; but instead of proceeding to our relief, the driver stopt short, and began to call out to us. I immediately held up to him Ismyloff's letters; upon which he turned about, and set off back again full speed; followed, I believe, not with the prayers of any of our party. Being at a great loss what conclusions to draw from this unaccountable behaviour, we continued our march towards the ostrog, with great circumspection, and when we had arrived within a quarter of a mile of it, we perceived a body

of armed men marching towards us. That we might give them as little alarm, and have as peaceable an appearance as possible, the two men who had boat-hooks in their hands, were ordered into the rear, and Mr. Webber and myself marched in front. The Russian party, consisting of about thirty soldiers, were headed by a decent looking person with a cane in his hand. He halted within a few yards of us, and drew up his men in a martial and good order. I delivered to him Ismyloff's letters, and endeavoured to make him understand, as well as I could (though I afterwards found in vain), that we were English, and had brought the papers from Oonalashka. After having examined us attentively, he began to conduct us towards the village, in great silence and solemnity, frequently halting his men, to form them in different manners, and make them perform several parts of their manual exercise, probably with a view to shew us, that if we had the temerity to offer any violence, we should have to deal with men who were not ignorant of their business.

Though I was all this time in my wet clothes, shivering with cold, and sufficiently inclined to the most unconditional submission, without having my fears violently alarmed, yet it was impossible not to be diverted with this military parade, notwithstanding it was attended with the most unseasonable delay. At length we arrived at the house of the commanding officer of the party, into which we were ushered ; and, after no small stir in giving orders, and disposing of the military without doors, our host made his appearance, accompanied by another person, whom we understood to be the secretary of the port. One of Ismyloff's letters was now opened, and the other sent off by a special messenger to Bolcheretsk, a town on the west side of the peninsula of Kamtschatka, where the Russian commander of this province usually resides.

It is very remarkable, that they had not seen the ship the preceding day, when we came to anchor in the bay, nor in-



deed this morning, till our boats were pretty near the ice. The panic with which the discovery had struck them, we found had been very considerable. The garrison was immediately put under arms. Two small field-pieces were placed at the entrance of the commander's house, and pointed toward our boats; and shot, powder, and lighted matches were all ready at hand.

The officer, in whose house we were at present entertained, was a serjeant, and the commander of the ostrog. Nothing could exceed the kindness and hospitality of his behaviour, after he recovered from the alarm occasioned by our arrival. We found the house insufferably hot, but exceedingly neat and clean. After I had changed my clothes, which the serjeant's civility enabled me to do, by furnishing me with a complete suit of his own, we were invited to sit down to dinner, which I have no doubt was the best he could procure; and considering the shortness of time he had to provide it, was managed with some ingenuity. As there was not time to prepare soup and bouilli, we had in their stead some cold beef sliced, with hot water poured over it. We had next a large bird roasted, of a species with which I was unacquainted, but of a very excellent taste. After having eaten part of this, it was taken off, and we were served with fish dressed two different ways; and soon after the bird again made its appearance, in savory and sweet pates. Our liquor, of which I shall have to speak hereafter, was of the kind called by the Russians quass, and was much the worst part of the entertainment. The serjeant's wife brought in several of the dishes herself, and was not permitted to sit down at table. Having finished our repast, during which it is hardly necessary to remark that our conversation was confined to a few bows, and other signs of mutual respect, we endeavoured to open to our host the cause and object of our visit to this port. As Ismyloff had probably written to them on the same subject, in the letters we had before delivered, he appeared

very readily to conceive our meaning ; but as there was unfortunately no one in the place that could talk any other language except Russian or Kamtschadale, we found the utmost difficulty in comprehending the information he meant to convey to us. After some time spent in these endeavours to understand one another, we conceived the sum of the intelligence we had procured to be, that though no supply, either of provisions or naval stores, was to be had at this place, yet that these articles were in great plenty at Bolcheretsk : that the commander would most probably be very willing to give us what we wanted ; but that till the serjeant had received orders from him, neither he nor his people, nor the natives, could even venture to go on board the ship.

It was now time for us to take our leave ; and, as my clothes were still too wet to put on, I was obliged to have recourse again to the serjeant's benevolence, for his leave to carry those I had borrowed of him on board. This request was complied with very cheerfully, and a sledge drawn by five dogs with a driver, was immediately provided for each of our party. The sailors were highly delighted with this mode of conveyance ; and what diverted them still more was, that the two boat-hooks had also a sledge appropriated to themselves. These sledges are so light, and their construction so well adapted to the purposes for which they are intended, that they went with great expedition, and perfect safety over the ice, which it would have been impossible for us, with all our caution, to have passed on foot.

On our return, we found the boats towing the ship towards the village ; and at seven we got close to the ice, and moored with the small bower to the north-east, and best bower to the south-west ; the entrance of the bay bearing south by east, and south three quarters east ; and the ostrog north, one quarter east, distant one mile and a half. The next morning the casks and cables were got upon the quarter-deck, in order to lighten the ship forward ; and

the carpenters were set to work to stop the leak, which had given us so much trouble during our last run. It was found to have been occasioned by the falling of some sheathing from the larboard bow, and the plank between the planks having been washed out. The warm weather we had in the middle of the day, began to make the ice break very fast, which drifting with the tide, had almost filled up the entrance of the bay. Several of our gentlemen paid their visits to the serjeant, by whom they were received with great civility; and Capt. Clerke sent him two bottles of rum, which he understood would be the most acceptable present he could make him, and received in return some fine fowls of the grouse kind, and twenty trouts. Our sportsmen met with but bad success; for though the bay swarmed with flocks of ducks of various kinds, and Greenland pigeons, yet they were so shy, that they could not come within shot of them.

In the morning of the 1st of May, seeing the *Discovery* standing into the bay, a boat was immediately sent to her assistance; and in the afternoon she moored close by us. They told us, that after the weather cleared up on the 28th, they found themselves to leeward of the bay, and that when they got abreast of it the following day, and saw the entrance choaked up with ice, they stood off, after firing guns, concluding we could not be here; but finding afterward it was only loose drift ice, they had ventured in. The next day the weather was so very unsettled, attended with heavy showers of snow, that the carpenters were not able to proceed in their work. The thermometer stood at 28° in the evening, and the frost was exceedingly severe in the night.

The following morning, on our observing two sledges drive into the village, Capt. Clerke sent me on shore, to inquire whether any message was arrived from the commander of Kamtschatka, which, according to the serjeant's account, might now be expected, in consequence of the in-

telligence that had been sent of our arrival. Bolcheretsk, by the usual route, is about 135 English miles from St. Peter and St. Paul's. Our dispatches were sent off in a sledge drawn by dogs, on the 29th, about noon. And the answer arrived, as we afterwards found, early this morning ; so that they were only a little more than three days and a half in performing a journey of two hundred and seventy miles.

The return of the commander's answer was, however, concealed from us for the present ; and I was told, on my arrival at the serjeant's, that we should hear from him the next day. Whilst I was on shore, the boat which had brought me, together with another belonging to the *Discovery*, were set fast in the ice, which a southerly wind had driven from the other side of the bay. On seeing them entangled, the *Discovery's* launch had been sent to their assistance, but shared the same fate ; and in a short time the ice had surrounded them near a quarter of a mile deep. This obliged us to stay on shore till evening, when finding no prospect of getting the boats off, some of us went in sledges to the edge of the ice, and were taken off by boats sent from the ship, and the rest staid on shore all night.

It continued to freeze hard during the night ; but before morning on the 4th, a change of wind drifted away the floating ice, and set the boats at liberty, without their having sustained the smallest damage.

About ten o'clock in the forenoon, we saw several sledges driven down to the edge of the ice, and sent a boat to conduct the persons who were in them on board. One of these was a Russian merchant from Bolcheretsk, named Fedositch, and the other a German called Port, who had brought a letter from Maj or Behm, the commander of Kamtschatka, to Capt. Clerke. When they got to the edge of the ice, and saw distinctly the size of the ships, which lay about two hundred yards from them, they appeared to be exceedingly alarmed ; and, before they would venture to embark, desired

two of our boat's crew might be left on shore as hostages for their safety. We afterwards found that Ismyloff, in his letter to the commander, had misrepresented us, for what reasons we could not conceive, as two small trading boats, and that the serjeant, who had only seen the ships at a distance, had not in his despatches rectified the mistake.

When they arrived on board, we still found, from their cautious and timorous behaviour, that they were under some unaccountable apprehensions ; and an uncommon degree of satisfaction was visible in their countenances, on the German's finding a person amongst us, with whom he could converse. This was Mr. Webber, who spoke that language perfectly well ; and at last, though with some difficulty, convinced them that we were Englishmen and friends. Mr. Port being introduced to Capt. Clerke, delivered to him the commander's letter, which was written in German, and was merely complimentary, inviting him and his officers to Bolcheretsk, to which place the people who brought it were to conduct us. Mr. Port, at the same time, acquainted him that the major had conceived a very wrong idea of the size of the ship, and of the service we were engaged in ; Ismyloff, in his letter, having represented us as two small English packet boats, and cautioned him to be on his guard ; insinuating that he suspected us to be no better than pirates. In consequence of this letter, he said there had been various conjectures formed about us at Bolcheretsk ; that the major thought it most probable we were on a trading scheme, and for that reason had sent down a merchant to us ; but that the officer, who was second in command, was of opinion we were French, and come with some hostile intention, and was for taking measures accordingly. It had required, he added, all the major's authority to keep the inhabitants from leaving the town, and retiring up into the country ; to so extraordinary a

pitch had their fears risen, from their persuasion that we were French.

Their extreme apprehensions of that nation, were principally occasioned by some circumstances attending an insurrection that had happened at Bolchoeretak, a few years before, in which the commander had lost his life. We were informed that an exiled Polish officer, named Beniowski, taking advantage of the confusion into which the town was thrown, had seized upon a galliot, then lying at the entrance of the Bolchoireka, and had forced on board a number of Russian sailors, sufficient to navigate her : that he had put on shore a part of the crew at the Kourile Islands, and among the rest, Ismyloff, who, as the reader will recollect, had puzzled us exceedingly at Oonalashka, with the history of this transaction ; though for want of understanding his language, we could not then make out all the circumstances attending it : that he passed in sight of Japan ; made Lucconia ; and was there directed how to steer to Canton : that arriving there, he had applied to the French, and had got a passage in one of their India ships to France : and that most of the Russians had likewise returned to Europe in French ships ; and had afterward found their way to Petersburg. We met with three of Beniowski's crew in the harbour of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and from them we learnt the circumstances of the above story.

On our arrival at Canton, we received a farther corroboration of the facts, from the gentlemen of the English factory, who told us that a person had arrived there in a Russian galliot, who said he came from Kamtschatka, and that he had been furnished by the French factory with a passage to Europe. It hath since appeared, from the account of Kerguelen's Voyage, that this extraordinary person, who had entered into the French service, was commander of a new settlement at Madagascar, when Kerguelen touched there in 1774.

We could not help being much diverted with the fears and



apprehensions of these good people, and particularly with the account Mr. Port gave us of the serjeant's wary proceedings the day before. On seeing me come on shore, in company with some other gentlemen, he had made him and the merchant, who arrived in the sledges we had seen come in the morning, hide themselves in his kitchen, and listen to our conversation with one another, in hopes that by this means they might discover whether we were really English or not.

As we concluded, from the commission and dress of Mr. Port, that he might probably be the commander's secretary, he was received as such, and invited, with his companion, the merchant, to dine with Capt. Clerke: and though we soon began to suspect, from the behaviour of the latter toward him, that he was only a common servant, yet being no title to sacrifice our little comforts to our pride, we prevented an explanation, by not suffering the question to be put to him; and, in return for the satisfaction we reaped from his abilities as a linguist, we continued to let him live on a footing of equality with us.

Being now enabled to converse with the Russians, by the aid of our interpreter, with tolerable facility, our first inquiries were directed to the means of procuring a supply of fresh provisions and naval stores; from the want of which latter article, in particular, we had been for some time in great distress. On inquiry it appeared, that the whole stock of live cattle, which the country about the bay could furnish, amounted only to two heifers; and these the serjeant very readily promised to procure us. Our applications were next made to the merchant, but we found the terms upon which he offered to serve us so exorbitant, that Capt. Clerke thought it necessary to send an officer to visit the commander at Bolcheretsk, to inquire into the price of stores at that place. As soon as this determination was communicated to Mr. Port, he dispatched an express to the commander to inform him of our intentions, and, at the same time to clear

us from the suspicions that were entertained with respect to the designation and purposes of our voyage.

Capt. Clerke having thought proper to fix on me for this service, I received orders, together with Mr. Webber, who was to accompany me as interpreter, to be ready to set out the next day. It proved, however, too stormy, as did also the 6th, for beginning a journey through so wild and desolate a country; but, on the 7th, the weather appearing more favourable, we set out early in the morning in the ship's boats, with a view to reach the entrance of the Awatska at high water, on account of the shoals with which the mouth of that river abounds; here the country boats were to meet us, and carry us up the stream.

Capt. Gore was now added to our party, and we were attended by Messrs. Port and Fedositsch, with two Cossacks, and were provided by our conductors with warm furred clothing; a precaution which we soon found very necessary, as it began to snow briskly just after we set out. At eight o'clock, being stopped by shoal water, about a mile from the mouth of the river, some small canoes belonging to the Kamptschadales, took up us and our baggage, and carried us over a spit of sand thrown up by the rapidity of the river, and which they told us was continually shifting. When we had crossed this shoal, the water again deepened; and here we found a commodious boat, built, and shaped like a Norway yawl, ready to convey us up the river, together with canoes for our baggage.

The mouth of the Awatska is about a quarter of a mile broad; and as we advanced, it narrowed very gradually. After we had proceeded a few miles, we passed several branches, which, we were told, emptied themselves into other parts of the bay; and that some of those on the left hand, flowed into the Paratouna river. Its general direction from the bay, for the first ten miles, is to the north, after which it turns to the westward: this bend excepted, it preserves for the most part a straight course; and the

country through which it flows, to the distance of near thirty miles from the sea, is low and flat, and subject to frequent inundations. We were pushed forward by six men with long poles, three at each end of the boat, two of whom were Cossacks, the others Kamtschadales, and advanced against a strong stream, at the rate, as well as I could judge, of about three miles an hour. Our Kamtschadales bore this severe labour with great stoutness for ten hours, during which we stopped only once, and that for a short time, whilst they took some little refreshment. As we had been told at our first setting out in the morning, that we should easily reach an ostrog, called Karatchin, the same night, we were much disappointed to find ourselves, at sun-set, fifteen miles from that place. This we attributed to the delay occasioned in passing the shoals we had met with, both at the entrance of the river, and in several other places as we proceeded up it; for our boat being the first that had passed up the river, the guides were not acquainted with the situation of the shifting sand-banks, and unfortunately the snow not having yet begun to melt, the shallowness of the river was at its extreme.

The fatigue our men had already undergone, and the difficulty of navigating the river, which would have been much increased by the darkness of the night, obliged us to give up all thoughts of continuing our journey that evening. Having therefore found a place tolerably sheltered, and cleared it of the snow, we erected a small marquee, which we had brought with us; and, by the assistance of a brisk fire, and some good punch, passed the night not very unpleasantly. The only inconvenience we laboured under was, the being obliged to make the fire at some distance from us. For, although the ground was to all appearance dry enough before, yet when the fire was lighted, it soon thawed all the parts round it into an absolute puddle. We admired much the alertness and expedition with which the Kamtschadales erected our marquee, and cooked our provisions; but what

was most unexpected, we found they had brought with them their tea-kettles, considering it as the greatest of hardships not to drink tea two or threetimes a day.

We set out as soon as it was light in the morning, and had not advanced far, before we were met by the Toion, or chief of Karatchin, who had been apprised of our coming, and had provided canoes that were lighter, and better contrived for navigating the higher parts of the river. A commodious vessel, consisting of two canoes, lashed close together with cross spars, lined with bear-skins, and furnished with fur cloaks, was also provided for us. We now went on very rapidly, the Toion's people being both stout and fresh, and remarkable for their expertness in this business. At ten we got to the ostrog, the seat of his command, where we were received at the water-side by the Kamtschadale men and women, and some Russian servants belonging to Fedositsch, who were employed in making canoes. They were all dressed out in their best clothes. Those of the women were pretty and gay, consisting of a full loose robe of white nankeen, gathered close round the neck, and fastened with a collar of coloured silk. Over this they wore a short jacket without sleeves, made of different coloured nankeens, and petticoats of a slight Chinese silk. Their shifts, which had sleeves down to the wrists, were also of silk; and coloured silk handkerchiefs were bound round their heads, concealing entirely the hair of the married women, whilst those who were unmarried, brought the handkerchief under the hair, and suffered it to flow loose behind.

The ostrog was pleasantly situated by the side of the river, and consisted of three log-houses, three jourts, or houses made under ground, and nineteen balagans, or summer habitations. We were conducted to the dwelling of the Toion, who was a plain decent man, born of a Russian woman, by a Kamtschadale father. His house, like all the rest in this country, was divided into two apartments.

A long narrow table, with a bench round it, was all the furniture we saw in the outer; and the household stuff of the inner, which was the kitchen, was not less simple and scanty. But the kind attention of our host, and the hearty welcome we received, more than compensated for the poverty of his lodgings.

His wife proved an excellent cook, and served us with fish and game of different sorts, and various kinds of heath-berries, that had been kept since the last year. Whilst we were at dinner in this miserable hut, the guests of a people with whose existence we had before been scarce acquainted, and at the extremity of the habitable globe, a solitary, half-worn pewter spoon, whose shape was familiar to us, attracted our attention; and, on examination, we found it stamped on the back with the word London. I cannot pass over this circumstance in silence, out of gratitude for the many pleasant thoughts, the anxious hopes, and tender remembrances it excited in us. Those who have experienced the effects that long absence and extreme distance from their native country produce on the mind, will readily conceive the pleasure such trifling incidents can give. The philosopher and the politician may perhaps suggest reflections of a different nature.

We were now to quit the river, and perform the next part of our journey on sledges; but the thaw had been too powerful in the day-time to allow us to set out till the cold of the evening had again made the surface of the snow hard and firm. This gave us an opportunity of walking about the village, which was the only place we had yet seen free from snow since we landed in this country. It stood upon a well-wooded flat, about a mile and a half in circumference. The leaves were just budding, and the verdure of the whole scene was strongly contrasted with the sides of the surrounding hills, which were still covered with snow. As the soil appeared to me very capable of producing all the common sorts of garden vegetables, I was greatly

surprised not to find the smallest spot any where cultivated. If to this we add, that none of the inhabitants were possessed of cattle of any sort, nothing can be well conceived more wretched than their situation must be during the winter months. They were at this time removing from their jouts into their balagans, which afforded us an opportunity of examining both these sorts of habitations; and they will be hereafter more particularly described. The people invited us into their houses with great good humour; a general air of cheerfulness and content was every where visible, to which the approaching change of season might probably not a little contribute.

On our return to the Toion's, we found supper prepared for us, which differed in nothing from our former repast; and concluded with our treating the Toion and his wife with some of the spirits we had brought with us, made into punch. Capt. Gore, who had great generosity on all occasions, having afterward made them some valuable presents, they retired to the kitchen, leaving us in possession of the outward room, where, spreading our bear-skins on the benches, we were glad to get a little repose, having settled with our conductors to resume our journey, as soon as the ground should be judged fit for travelling.

About nine o'clock the same evening we were awakened by the melancholy howlings of the dogs, which continued all the time our baggage was lashing upon the sledges; but, as soon as they were yoked, and we were all prepared to set out, this changed into a light cheerful yelping, which entirely ceased the instant they marched off. But before we set out the reader may expect to be made more particularly acquainted with this curious mode of travelling.

The body of the sledge is about four feet and a half long, and a foot wide, made in the form of a crescent, of light tough wood, strongly bound together with wicker-work; which, in those belonging to the better sort of people, is elegantly stained of a red and blue colour, and the seat co-



vered, with bear-skins, or other furs. It is supported by four legs, about two feet high, which rest on two long flat pieces of wood, five or six inches broad, extending a foot at each end beyond the body of the sledge. These are turned up before in the manner of a skate, and shod with the bone of some sea animal. The fore-part of the carriage is ornamented with thongs of leather and tassels of coloured cloth; and from the cross-bar, to which the harness is joined, are hung links of iron, or small bells, the jingling of which they conceive to be encouraging to the dogs. They are seldom used to carry more than one person at a time, who sits aside, resting his feet on the lower part of the sledge, and carrying his provisions and other necessaries, wrapped up in a bundle, behind him. The dogs are usually five in number, yoked two and two, with a leader. The reins, not being fastened to the head of the dogs, but to the collar, have little power over them, and are therefore generally hung upon the sledge, whilst the driver depends entirely on their obedience to his voice for the direction of them. With this view, the leader is always trained up with a particular degree of care and attention; some of them rising to a most extraordinary value on account of their docility and steadiness; insomuch, that for one of these, I am well assured, forty roubles (or ten pounds) was no unusual price. The driver is also provided with a crooked stick, which answers the purpose both of whip and reins; as, by striking it into the snow, he is enabled to moderate the speed of the dogs, or even to stop them entirely; and when they are lazy, or otherwise inattentive to his voice, he chastises them by throwing it at them. Upon these occasions their dexterity in picking it up again is very remarkable, and forms the principal difficulty of their art. But it is indeed not surprising that they should labour to be skilful in a practice upon which their safety so materially depends. For they say, that if the driver should happen to lose his stick, the dogs will instantly perceive it; and unless the leader be of the most sober and

resolute kind, they will immediately run a-head full speed, and never stop till they are quite spent. But as that will not be the case soon, it generally happens that either the carriage is overturned, and dashed to pieces against the trees, or they hurry down some precipice, and are all buried in the snow. The accounts that were given us of the speed of these dogs, and of their extraordinary patience of hunger and fatigue, were scarcely credible, if they had not been supported by the best authority. We were indeed ourselves witnesses of the great expedition with which the messenger, who had been despatched to Bolcheretsk with the news of our arrival, returned to the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul, though the snow was, at this time, exceedingly soft. But I was informed, by the commander of Kamtschatka, that this journey was generally performed in two days and a half, and that he had once received an express from the latter place in twenty-three hours.

The dogs are fed, during the winter, on the offals of dried and stinking fish ; but are always deprived of this miserable food, a day before they set out on a journey, and never suffered to eat before they reach the end of it. We were also told, that it was not unusual for them to continue thus fasting two entire days, in which time they would perform a journey of one hundred and twenty miles. Extraordinary as this may appear, Krascheninikoff, whose account of Kamschatka, from every thing that I saw, and had an opportunity of comparing it with, seems to me to deserve entire credit, and whose authority I shall, therefore, frequently have recourse to, relates instances of this kind that are much more surprising. " Travelling parties," says he, " are often overtaken with dreadful storms of snow, on the approach of which they drive with the utmost precipitation into the nearest wood, and there are obliged to stay till the tempest, which frequently lasts six or seven days, is over ; the dogs remaining all this while quiet and inoffensive ; except that sometimes, when prest by hunger, they will devour the reins,

and the other leathern parts of the harness." These dogs are in shape somewhat like the Pomeranian breed, but considerably larger.

As we did not choose to trust to our own skill, we had each of us a man to drive and guide the sledge, which, from the state the roads were now in, proved a laborious business. For, as the thaw had advanced very considerably in the vallies, through which our road lay, we were under the necessity of keeping along the sides of the hills; and this obliged our guides, who were provided with snow-shoes for that purpose, to support the sledges, on the lower side, with their shoulders, for several miles together. I had a very good-humoured Cossack to attend me, who was, however, so very unskilful in his business, that we were overturned almost every minute, to the great entertainment of the rest of the company. Our party consisted in all of ten sledges. That in which Capt. Gore was carried, was made of two lashed together, and abundantly lined with furs and bear skins; it had ten dogs yoked four abreast; as had also some of those that were heavy laden with baggage.

When we had proceeded about four miles it began to rain; which, added to the darkness of the night, threw us all into confusion. It was last agreed that we should remain where we were till day-light, and accordingly we came to anchor in the snow (for I cannot better express the manner in which the sledges were secured), and wrapping ourselves up in our furs, waited patiently for the morning. About three o'clock we were called on to set out, our guides being apprehensive that if we waited longer we might be stopped by the thaw, and neither be able to proceed nor to return. After encountering many difficulties, which were principally occasioned by the bad condition of the road, at two in the afternoon we got safe to an ostrog, called Natchekin, situated on the side of a small stream which falls into the Bolchoireka, a little way below the town. The distance between Karatchin and Natchekin is thirty-eight wersts (or

twenty-five miles); and, had the hard frost continued, we should not, by their account, have been more than four hours in performing it; but the snow was so soft, that the dogs, almost at every step, sunk up to their bellies; and I was indeed much surprised at their being at all able to overcome the difficulties of so fatiguing a journey.

Natcheein is a very inconsiderable ostrog, having only one log-house, the residence of the Toion; five belagans, and one jourt. We were received here with the same formalities, and in the same hospitable manner, as at Karatchin; and in the afternoon we went to visit a remarkable hot-spring, which is near this village. We saw at some distance the steam rising from it, as from a boiling cauldron; and, as we approached, perceived the air had a strong sulphureous smell. The main spring forms a bason of about three feet in diameter; besides which, there are a number of lesser springs, of the same degree of heat, in the adjacent ground; so that the whole spot, to the extent of near an acre, was so hot, that we could not stand two minutes in the same place. The water flowing from these springs is collected in a small bathing pond, and afterwards forms a little rivulet, which, at the distance of about an hundred and fifty yards, falls into the river. The bath, they told us, had wrought great cures in several disorders, such as rheumatisms, swelled and contracted joints, and scorbutic ulcers. In the bathing-place the thermometer stood at 100°, on blood heat; but in the spring, after being immersed two minutes, it was 1° above boiling spirits. The thermometer in the air, at this time, was 34°; in the river 40°; and in the Toion's house 64°. The ground where these springs break out, is on a gentle ascent; behind which there is a green hill of a moderate size. I am sorry I was not sufficiently skilled in botany to examine the plants, which seemed to thrive here with great luxuriance; the wild garlic, indeed, forced itself on our notice, and was at this time, springing up very vigorously.

The next morning we embarked on the Bolchoireka in canoes ; and, having the stream with us, expected to be at our journey's end the day following. The town of Bolcheretsk is about eighty miles from Natcheequin ; and we were informed that, in the summer season, when the river has been full and rapid, from the melting of snow on the mountains, the canoes had often gone down in a single day ; but that, in its present state, we should probably be much longer, as the ice had broken up only three days before we arrived ; and that ours would be the first boat that had attempted to pass. This intelligence proved but too true. We found ourselves greatly impeded by the shallows ; and though the stream in many places ran with great rapidity yet every half mile we had rippings and shoals, over which we were obliged to haul the boats. The country, on each side, was very romantic, but unvaried ; the river running between mountains of the most craggy and barren aspect, where there was nothing to diversify the scene now and then the sight of a bear, and the flights of fowl. So uninteresting a passage leaves me nothing farther to say, than that this, and the following night, we slept on the banks of the river, under our marquise ; and suffered very much from the severity of the weather, and the snow, which still remained on the ground.

At day-light on the 12th, we found we had got clear of the mountains, and were entering a low extensive plain, covered with shrubby trees. About nine in the forenoon, we arrived at an ostrog, called Opatchin, which is computed to be fifty miles from Natcheequin, and is nearly of the same size as Karatchin. We found here a serjeant with four Russian soldiers, who had been two days waiting for our arrival, and who immediately despatched a light boat to Bolcheretsk, with intelligence of our approach. We were now put into the trammels of formality ; a canoe, furnished with skins and furs, and equipped in a magnificent manner, was prepared for our reception, in which we were

accommodated much at our ease, but to the exclusion of the rest of our fellow-travellers. It was with much regret we found ourselves obliged to separate from our old companion Monsieur Port, whom we had observed to grow every day more shy and distant as we drew nearer the end of our journey. Indeed he had himself told us, before we set out, that we paid him a respect he had no title to ; but, as we found him a very modest and discreet man, we had insisted on his living with us during the whole of our journey. The remainder of our passage was performed with great facility and expedition, the river growing more rapid as we descended, and less obstructed by shoals.

As we approached the capital, we were sorry to observe, from an appearance of much stir and bustle, that we were to be received in form. Decent clothes had been for some time a scarce commodity amongst us ; and our travelling dresses were made up of a burlesque mixture of European, Indian, and Kamtschadale fashions. We therefore thought it would be too ridiculous to make a parade in this trim through the metropolis of Kamtschatka ; and, as we saw a crowd collected on the banks of the river, and were told the commander would be at the water-side to receive us, we stopped short at a soldier's house, about a quarter of a mile from the town, from whence we sent Port with a message to his excellency, acquainting him, that the moment we had put off our travelling dresses, we would pay our respects to him at his own house ; and to beg he would not think of waiting to conduct us. Finding, however, that he persisted in his intentions of paying us this compliment, we lost no farther time in attiring ourselves, but made all the haste in our power to join him at the entrance of the town. I observed my companions to be as awkward as I felt myself in making our first salutations, bowing and scraping being marks of good breeding, that we had now, for two years and a half, being totally unaccustomed to. The manner in which we were received by the commander, was



the most engaging that could be conceived, and increased my mortification at finding that he had almost entirely forgot the French language ; so that the satisfaction of conversing with him was wholly confined to Mr. Webber, who spoke the German, his native tongue.

In company with Major Behm was Capt. Shmaleff, the second in command, and another officer, with the whole body of the merchants of the place. They conducted us to the commander's house, where we were received by his lady with great civility, and found tea and other refreshments prepared for us. After the first compliments were over, Mr. Webber was desired to acquaint the major with the object of our journey, with our want of naval stores, flour, and fresh provisions, and other necessities for the ship's crews, and at the same time to assure him, that we were sensible, from what we had already seen of the condition of the country about Awatska Bay, we could not expect much assistance from him in that quarter ; that the impossibility of sending heavy stores across the peninsula during the present season of the year, was but too apparent, from the difficulties we had met with in our journey ; and that, long before any material change could take place, we should be under the necessity of proceeding on our voyage. We were here interrupted by the commander, who observed, that we did not yet know what they were capable of doing ; that, at least, it was not his business to think of the difficulties of supplying our wants, but only to learn what were the articles we stood in need of, and the longest time we could allow him for procuring them. After expressing our sense of his obliging disposition, we gave him a list of the naval stores, the number of cattle, and the quantity of flour we were directed to purchase, and told him that we purposed recommencing our voyage about the fifth of June.

Our conversation afterward turned upon different subjects ; and it will naturally be supposed that our inquiries were principally directed to the obtaining some information

respecting our own country. Having now been absent three years, we had flattered ourselves with the certainty of receiving intelligence from Major Behm, which could not fail of being interesting ; and I cannot express the disappointment we felt, on finding that he had no news to communicate of a later date than our departure from England.

About seven o'clock the commander, conceiving we might be fatigued with our journey, and desirous of taking some repose, begged he might conduct us to our lodgings. It was in vain that we protested against a compliment which we had certainly no title to expect, but that of being strangers ; a circumstance which seemed, in the opinion of this generous Livonian, to counterbalance every other consideration. In our way we passed by two guard-houses, where the men were turned out under arms, in compliment to Capt. Gore ; and were afterwards brought to a very neat and decent house, which the major gave us to understand was to be our residence during our stay. Two sentinels were posted at the door, and, in a house adjoining, there was a serjeant's guard. Having shewn us into our apartments, the major took his leave with a promise that he should see us the next day ; and we were then left to find out at our leisure all the conveniencies that he had most amply provided for us. A soldier, called a put-propersckack, whose rank is between that of a serjeant and corporal, along with our fellow-traveller Port, were appointed to be our male domestics ; besides whom, there was a housekeeper and a cook, who had orders to obey Port's directions in dressing us a supper according to our own mode of cookery. We received many civil messages in the course of the evening from the principal people of the town, purporting, that they would not add to our fatigues by paying their respects to us at that time, but would wait on us in the morning. Such well-supported politeness and attention, in a country so desolate and uncultivated, formed a contrast exceedingly favourable to its inhabitants ; and,

to finish the piece as it began, as sun-set the serjeant came with the report of his guard to Capt. Gore.

Early in the morning we received the compliments of the commander, of Capt. Shmaleff, and of the principal inhabitants of the town, who all honoured us with visits soon after. The two first, having sent for Port, after we were gone to rest, and inquired of him what articles we seemed to be most in want of on board the ships; we found them prepared to insist on our sharing with the garrison under their command, in what little stock of provisions they had remaining. At the same time they lamented that we had arrived at a season of the year, when there was always the greatest scarcity of every thing amongst them; the sloops not being yet arrived, with their annual supply, from Okosk.

We agreed to accept the liberality of these hospitable strangers, with the best grace we could; but on condition that we might be made acquainted with the price of the articles we were to be supplied with, and that Capt. Clerke should give bills to the amount upon the Victualling Office in London. This the major positively refused; and whenever it was afterwards urged, stopped us short, by telling us, he was certain that he could not oblige his mistress more than in giving every assistance in his power to her good friends and allies the English; and that it would be a particular satisfaction to her to hear, that, in so remote a part of the world, her dominions had afforded any relief to ships engaged in such services as ours; that he could not therefore act so contrary to the character of his empress as to accept of any bills; but that to accommodate the matter, he would take a bare attestation of the particulars with which we might be furnished, and that this he should transmit to his court, as a certificate of having performed his duty. I shall leave (he continued) to the two courts all farther acknowledgments, but cannot consent to accept of any thing of the kind alluded to.

When this matter was adjusted, he began to inquire

about our private wants, saying, he should consider himself as ill used if we had any dealings with the merchants, or applied to any other person except himself.

In return for such singular generosity, we had little to bestow but our admiration and our thanks. Fortunately, however, Capt. Clerke had sent by me a set of prints and maps, belonging to the last voyage of Capt. Cook, which he desired me to present in his name to the commander; who being an enthusiast in every thing relating to discoveries, received it with a satisfaction which shewed, that, though a trifle, nothing could have been more acceptable. Capt. Clerke had likewise entrusted me with a discretionary power of shewing him a chart of the discoveries made in the present voyage; and as I judged that a person in his situation, and of his turn of mind, would be exceedingly gratified by a communication of this sort, though, out of delicacy, he had forbore to ask more than a few general questions on the subject, I made no scruple to repose in him, a confidence, of which his whole conduct shewed him to be deserving.

I had the pleasure to find, that he felt this compliment as I hoped he would, and he was much struck at seeing, in one view, the whole of that coast, as well on the side of Asia as on that of America, of which his countrymen had been so many years employed in acquiring a partial and imperfect knowledge.

Excepting this mark of confidence, and the set of prints I have already mentioned, we had brought nothing with us that was in the least worth his acceptance; for it scarce deserves noticing, that I prevailed on his son, a young boy, to accept of a silver watch I happened to have about me; and I made his little daughter very happy with two pair of ear-rings of French paste. Besides these trifles, I left with Capt. Shmaleff the thermometer I had used on my journey; and he promised me, to keep an exact register of the tempe-

perature of the air for one year, and to transmit it to Mr. Muller, with whom he had the pleasure of being acquainted.

We dined this day at the commander's, who, studious on every occasion to gratify our curiosity, had, besides a number of dishes dressed in our own way, prepared a great variety of others, after the Russian and Kamtschadale manner. The afternoon was employed in taking a view of the town and the adjacent country. Bolcheretsk is situated in a low swampy plain, that extends to the sea of Okotsk, being about forty miles long, and of a considerable breadth. It lies on the north side of the Bolchoireka (or great river), between the mouth of the Gottsofka and the Bistraia, which here empty themselves into this river; and the peninsula, on which it stands, has been separated from the continent by a large canal, the work of the present commander; which has not only added much to its strength as a fortress, but has made it much less liable than it was before to inundations. Below the town the river is from six to eight feet deep, and about a quarter of a mile broad. It empties itself into the sea of Okotsk, at the distance of twenty-two miles; where, according to Krascheninikoff, it is capable of admitting vessels of a considerable size. There is no corn, of any species, cultivated in this part of the country; and Major Behm informed me, that his was the only garden that had yet been planted. The ground was, for the most part, covered with snow; that which was free from it appeared full of small hillocks, of a black turfy nature. I saw about twenty or thirty cows, and the major had six stout horses. These and their dogs are the only tame animals they possess; the necessity they are under, in the present state of the country, of keeping great numbers of the latter, making it impossible to bring up any cattle that are not in size and strength a match for them. For, during the summer season, their dogs are entirely let loose, and left to provide for themselves, which makes them so exceedingly ravenous, that they will sometimes even attack the bullocks.

The houses in Bolcheretsk are all of one fashion, being built of logs, and thatched. That of the commander is much larger than the rest, consisting of three rooms neatly papered, and reckoned handsome, if the tale with which the windows were covered, had not given them a poor and disagreeable appearance. The town consists of several rows of low buildings, each consisting of five or six dwellings, connected together, with a long common passage running the length of them, on one side of which is the kitchen and store-house, and on the other the dwelling apartments. Besides these are barracks for the Russian soldiers and Cossacks, a well-looking church, and a court-room, and at the end of the town a great number of balagans, belonging to the Kamtschadales. The inhabitants, taken all together, amount to between five or six hundred. In the evening the major gave a handsome entertainment, to which the principal people of the town of both sexes were invited.

The next morning we applied privately to the merchant Fodesitsch to purchase some tobacco for the sailors, who had now been upward of a twelve-month without this favourite commodity. However, this, like all our other transactions of the same kind, came immediately to the major's knowledge; and we were soon after surprised to find in our house four bags of tobacco, weighing upward of a hundred pounds each, which he begged might be presented, in the name of himself and the garrison under his command, to our sailors. At the same time they had sent us twenty loaves of fine sugar, and as many pounds of tea, being articles they understood we were in great want of, which they begged to be indulged in presenting to the officers. Along with these Madame Behm had also sent a present for Capt. Clerke, consisting of fresh-butter, honey, figs, rice, and some other little things of the same kind, attended with many wishes that, in his infirm state of health, they might be of service to him. It was in vain we tried to oppose this profusion of bounty, which I was really anxious to restrain, being con-



vinced that they were giving away, not a share, but almost the whole stock of the garrison. The constant answer the major returned us on those occasions was, that we had suffered a great deal, and that we must needs be in distress. Indeed the length of time we had been out since we touched at any known port, appeared to them so very incredible, that it required the testimony of our maps, and other corroborating circumstances, to gain their belief. Amongst the latter was a very curious fact which Major Behm related to us this morning, and which, he said, but for our arrival he should have been totally at a loss to account for.

It is well known that the Tschutski are the only people of the north of Asia who have maintained their independence, and resisted all the attempts that have been made by the Russians to reduce them. The last expedition against them was undertaken in the year 1750, and terminated, after various success, in the retreat of the Russian forces, and the loss of the commanding officer. Since that time the Russians had removed their frontier fortress from the Anadir to the Ingiga, a river that empties itself into the northern extremity of the sea of Okotsk, and gives its name to a gulf situated to the west of that of Penshinsk. From this fort Major Behm had received dispatches the day of our arrival at Bolcheretsk, containing intelligence that a tribe, or party of the Tschutski, had arrived at that place with propositions of friendship, and a voluntary offer of tribute; that on inquiring into the cause of this unexpected alteration in their sentiments, they had informed his people, that toward the latter end of the last summer they had been visited by two very large Russian boats; that they had been treated by the people who were in them with the greatest kindness, and had entered into a league of friendship and amity with them; and that relying on this friendly disposition, they were now come to the Russian fort in order to settle a treaty on such terms as might be acceptable to both nations. This extraordinary history had occasioned much speculation, both

at Ingiginsk and Bolcheretsk; and, had we not furnished them with a key of it, must have remained perfectly unintelligible. We felt no small satisfaction in having, though accidentally, shown the Russians, in this instance, the only true way of collecting tribute, and extending their dominions; and in the hopes that the good understanding which this event hath given rise to, may rescue a brave people from the future invasions of such powerful neighbours.

We dined this day with Capt. Shmaleff, and in the afternoon, in order to vary our amusements, he treated us with an exhibition of the Russian and Kamtschadale dancing. No description can convey an adequate idea of this rude and uncouth entertainment. The figure of the Russian dance was much like those of our hornpipes, and was danced either single, or by two or four persons at a time. Their steps were short and quick, with the feet scarce raised from the ground; the arms were fixed close to the sides, the body being all the while kept upright and immovable, excepting when the parties passed each other, at which time the hands were raised with a quick and awkward motion. But if the Russian dance was at the same time both unmeaning and ridiculous, the Kamtschadale joined to the latter quality the most whimsical idea that ever entered into any people's heads. It is intended to represent the awkward and clumsy gestures of the bear, which these people have frequent opportunities of observing in a great variety of situations. It will scarcely be expected that I should give a minute description of all the strange postures which were exhibited on these occasions; and I shall therefore only mention, that the body was always bowed, and the knees bent, whilst the arms were used in imitating the tricks and attitudes of that animal.

As our journey to Bolcheretsk had taken up more time than we expected, and we were told that our return might prove still more difficult and tedious, we were under the necessity of acquainting the commander this evening with our

intention of setting out the next day. It was not without the utmost regret we thought of leaving our new acquaintance, and were therefore most agreeably surprised when the major told us, that if we could stay one day longer, he would accompany us. He had, he said, made up his dispatches, and resigned the command of Kamtschatka to his successor Capt. Shmaleff, and had prepared every thing for his departure to Okotsk, which was to take place in a few days; but that he should feel great pleasure in putting off his journey a little longer, and returning with us to Saint Peter and Paul's, that he might himself be a witness of every thing being done for us that it was in their power to do.

In return for the few trifles I had given to the children of Major Behm, I was next morning, the 15th, presented by his little boy with a most magnificent Kamtschadale dress, which shall be described in its proper place. It was of the kind worn by the principal Toions of the country on occasions of great ceremony; and, as I was afterward told by Fedositsch, could not have been purchased for one hundred and twenty roubles. At the same time I had a present from his daughter of a handsome sable muff.

We afterward dined with the commander, who, in order to let us see as much of the manners of the inhabitants, and of the customs of the country, as our time would permit, invited the whole of the better sort of people in the village to his house this evening. All the women appeared very splendidly dressed after the Kamtschadale fashion. The wives of Capt. Shmaleff and the other officers of the garrison, were prettily dressed, half in the Siberian and half in the European mode; and Madame Behm, in order to make the stronger contrast, had unpacked part of her baggage, and put on a rich European dress. I was much struck with the richness and variety of the silks which the women wore, and the singularity of their habits. The whole was like some enchanted scene in the midst of the wildest and dreary

country in the world. Our entertainment again consisted of dancing and singing.

The next morning being fixed for our departure, we retired early to our lodgings, where the first things we saw were three travelling dresses, made after the fashion of the country, which the major had provided for us, who came himself to our house soon after, to see all our things packed up and properly taken care of. Indeed, what with his liberal presents, and the kindness of Capt. Shmaleff, and many other individuals, who all begged to throw in their mite, together with the ample stock of provisions he had sent us for our journey, we had amassed no inconsiderable load of baggage.

Early in the morning, every thing being ready for our departure, we were invited to call on Madame Behm in our way to the boats, and take our leave of her. Impressed, as our minds were, with sentiments of the warmest gratitude, by the attentive, benevolent, and generous treatment we had met with at Bolcheretsk, they were greatly heightened by the affecting scene which presented itself to us on leaving our lodgings. All the soldiers and Cossacks belonging to the garrison, were drawn up on one hand, and the male inhabitants of the town, dressed out in their best clothes, on the other; and, as soon as we came out of the house, the whole body of the people joined in a melancholy song, which the major told us it was usual in that country to sing on taking leave of their friends. In this manner we marched down to the commander's house, preceded by the drums and music of the garrison, where we were received by Madame Behm, attended by the ladies, who were dressed in long silk cloaks, lined with very valuable furs, of different colours, which made a most magnificent appearance. After partaking of some refreshment that was prepared for us, we went to the water-side, accompanied by the ladies, who now joined the song with the rest of the inhabitants; and, as soon as we had taken leave of Madame

Behm, and assured her of the grateful sense we should ever retain of the hospitality of Bolcheretsk, we found ourselves too much affected not to hasten into the boats with all the expedition we could. When we put off, the whole company gave us three cheers, which we returned from the boat; and, as we were doubling a point, where, for the last time we saw our friendly entertainers, they took their farewell in another cheer.

We found the stream on our return so exceedingly rapid, that, notwithstanding the Cossacks and Kamtschadales used their utmost exertions, we did not reach the first village Opatthin till the evening of the 17th, which was at the rate of about twenty miles a day. We got to Natchekin on the 19th; and, on the 20th, we crossed the plain to Karatthin. We found the road much better than when we had passed it before, there having been a smart frost on the night of the 19th. On the 21st, we proceeded down the Awatska river; and, before it was dark, got over the shoals which lie at the entrance of the bay. During the whole course of our journey we were much pleased with the great goodwill with which the Tolons and their Kamtschadales afforded us their assistance at the different ostrogs through which we passed; and I could not but observe the pleasure that appeared in their countenances on seeing the major, and their strong expressions of sorrow, on hearing he was so soon going to leave them.

We had dispatched a messenger to Capt. Clerke, from Bolcheretsk, with an account of our reception, and of the major's intention of returning with us; at the same time, apprising him of the day he might probably expect to see us. We were therefore very well pleased to observe, as we approached the harbour, all the boats of the two ships coming towards us, the men clean, and the officers as well dressed as the scarcity of our clothing would permit. The major was much struck at the robust and healthy appearance of the boats' crews, and still more at seeing most

of them without any other covering than a shirt and trousers, although at the very moment it actually snowed.

As Major Behm had expressed his intentions of visiting the ships before he landed, as soon as we arrived off the town, I desired to receive his commands; when remarking, that from the account we had given of the very bad state of Capt. Clerke's health, it might be imprudent to disturb him at so late an hour (it being now past nine o'clock), he thought it, he said, most advisable to remain that night on shore. Accordingly, after attending him to the serjeant's house, I took my leave for the present, and went on board to acquaint Capt. Clerke with my proceedings at Bolcheretsk. It was with the utmost concern I found that, in the fortnight we had been absent, this excellent officer was much altered for the worse, instead of reaping that advantage we flattered ourselves he might, from the repose of the harbour, and the milk and vegetable diet with which he was supplied.

As soon as I had despatched this business, I returned to the major, and the next morning conducted him to the ships; where, on his arrival, he was saluted with thirteen guns, and received with every other mark of distinction that it was in our power to pay him. He was attended by the commander of one of the Russian galliots, the master of a sloop that lay in the harbour, two merchants from Bolcheretsk, and the priest of the neighbouring village of Paratounca, for whom he appeared to entertain the highest respect, and whom I shall hereafter have occasion to mention, on account of his great kindness to Capt. Clerke.

After visiting the captain, and taking a view of both the ships, he returned to dinner on board the Resolution; and, in the afternoon, the various curiosities we had collected in the course of our voyage were shewn him, and a complete assortment of every article presented to him by Capt. Clerke. On this occasion I must not pass over an instance of great generosity and gratitude in the sailors of both ships; who,



when they were told of the handsome present of tobacco that was made them by the major, desired, entirely of their own accord, that their grog might be stopped, and their allowance of spirits presented on their part, to the garrison of Bolcheretsk, as they said they had reason to conclude that brandy was scarce in the country, and would be very acceptable to them, since the soldiers on shore had offered four roubles a bottle for it. We, who knew how much the sailors always felt whenever their allowance of grog was stopped, which was generally done in warm weather, that they might have it in a greater proportion in cold, and that this offer would deprive them of it during the inclement season we had to expect in our next expedition to the north, could not but admire so extraordinary a sacrifice; and, that they might not suffer by it, Capt. Clerke, and the rest of the officers, substituted in the room of the very small quantity the major could be prevailed on to accept, the same quantity of rum. This, with a dozen or two of Cape wine, for Madame Behm, and such other little presents as were in our power to bestow, were accepted in the most obliging manner. The next morning the tobacco was divided between the crews of the two ships, three pounds being allotted to every man that chewed or smoked tobacco, and one pound to those who did not.

I have before mentioned that Major Behm had resigned the command of Kamtschatka, and intended to set out in a short time for Petersburg; and he now offered to charge himself with any despatches we might trust to his care. This was an opportunity not to be neglected, and accordingly Capt. Clerke acquainted him, that he would take the liberty of sending by him some papers relating to our voyage, to be delivered to our ambassador at the Russian court: Our first intentions were to send only a small journal of our proceedings; but afterward, Capt. Clerke being persuaded that the whole account of our discoveries might safely be trusted to a person who had given such

striking proofs both of his public and private virtues ; and, considering that we had a very hazardous part of the voyage still to undertake, determined to send by him the whole of the journal of our late commander, with that part of his own which completed the period of Capt. Cook's death till our arrival at Kamtschatka, together with a chart of all our discoveries. Mr. Bayly and myself thought it also proper to send a general account of our proceedings to the board of longitude ; by which precautions, if any misfortune had afterwards befallen us, the admiralty would have been in possession of a complete history of the principal facts of our voyage. It was also determined that a smaller packet should be sent by an express from Okotsk, which, the major said, if he was fortunate in his passage to that port, would reach Petersburg by December, and that he himself should be there in February or March.

During the three following days the major was entertained alternately in the two ships in the best manner we were able. On the 25th he took his leave, and was saluted with thirteen guns ; and the sailors, at their own desire, gave him three cheers. The next morning, Mr. Webber and myself attended him a few miles up the Awatska river, where we met the Russian priest, his wife and children, who were waiting to take the last farewell of their commander.

It was hard to say, whether the good priest and his family, or ourselves, were most affected on taking our leave of Major Behm. Short as our acquaintance had been, his noble and disinterested conduct had inspired us with the highest respect and esteem for him ; and we could not part with a person to whom we were under such obligations, and whom we had little prospect of ever seeing again, without feeling the most tender concern. The intrinsic value of the private presents we received from him, exclusive of the stores which might be carried to a public account, must have amounted, according to the current price of articles in that country, to upward of two hundred pounds. But this generosity, ex-

traordinary as it may appear in itself, was exceeded by the delicacy with which all his favours were conferred, and the artful manner in which he endeavoured to prevent our feeling the weight of obligations, which he knew we had no means of requiting. If we go a step further, and consider him as supporting a public character, and maintaining the honour of a great sovereign, we shall find a still higher subject of admiration, in the just and enlarged sentiments by which he was actuated. "The service in which you are employed," he would often say, "is for the general advantage of mankind, and therefore gives you a right, not merely to the offices of humanity, but to the privileges of citizens, in whatever country you may be thrown. I am sure I am acting agreeably to the wishes of my mistress, in affording you all the relief in our power; and I cannot forget either her character, or my own honour, so much, as to barter for the performance of my duty." At other times he would tell us, that he was particularly desirous of setting a good example to the Kamtschadales, who, he said, were but just emerging from a state of barbarism; that they looked up to the Russians as their patterns in every thing; and that he had hopes they might in future look upon it as a duty incumbent upon them to assist strangers to the utmost of their power, and believe that such was the universal practice of civilized nations. To all this must be added, that after having relieved, to the utmost of his abilities, all our present distresses, he shewed himself not much less mindful of our future wants; and as he supposed it more than probable we should not discover the passage we were in search of, and therefore should return to Kamtschatka in the fall of the year, he made Capt. Clerke give him a list of what cordage and flour we should want, and promised they should be sent from Okotsk, and wait our arrival. For the same purpose, he gave Capt. Clerke a paper, enjoining all the subjects of the empress, whom he might happen to meet, to give us every assistance in their power.

I shall now proceed to relate the transactions that passed in the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul during our absence. On the 7th of May, soon after we had left the bay a large piece of ice drove across the cut-water of the *Resolution*, and brought home the small bower anchor. This obliged them to weigh the other anchor, and moor again. The carpenters who were employed in stopping the leak, were obliged to take off a great part of the sheathing from the bows, and found many of the trunnels so very loose and rotten, as to be easily drawn out with the fingers.

On the 11th they had heavy gales from the north-east, which obliged both the ships to strike yards and topmasts; but in the afternoon the weather being more moderate, and the ice having drifted away as far as the mouth of the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul, they warped close to the shore for the greater convenience of watering and wooding, and again moored as before; the town bearing north half west, half a mile distant, and the mouth of the bay shut in by the southernmost point of Rakowina harbour, south.

The next day a party was sent on shore to cut wood, but made little progress on account of the snow, which still covered the ground. A convenient spot was cleared away abreast of the ships, where there was a fine run of water; and a tent being erected for the cooper, the empty casks were landed, and the sail-makers sent on shore.

On the 15th, the beach being clear of ice, the people were sent to haul the seine, and caught an abundant supply of fine flat fish for both the ships' companies. Indeed from this time, during the whole of our stay in the harbour, we were absolutely overpowered with the quantities of fish which came in from every quarter. The *Toions*, both of this town, and of *Paratounca*, a village in the neighbourhood, had received orders from Major Behm to employ all the *Kamtschadales* in our service; so that we frequently could not take into the ships the presents that were sent us. They consisted in general of flat fish, cod, trout, and herring.

These last, which were in their full perfection, and of a delicious flavour, were exceedingly abundant in this bay. The *Discovery's* people surrounded at one time so great a quantity in their seine, that they were obliged to throw a vast number out, lest the net should be broken to pieces ; and the cargo they landed was afterward so plentiful, that besides a sufficient store for immediate use, they filled as many casks as they could spare for salting ; and after sending to the *Resolution* a sufficient quantity for the same purpose, they left several bushels behind on the beach.

The snow now began to disappear very rapidly, and abundance of wild garlic, celery, and nettletops were gathered for the use of the crews ; which being boiled with wheat and portable soup, made them a wholesome and comfortable breakfast ; and with this they were supplied every morning. The birch-trees were also tapped, and the sweet juice, which they yielded in great quantities, was constantly mixed with the men's allowance of brandy.

The next day a small bullock, which had been procured for the ship's company by the serjeant, was killed ; and weighed two hundred and seventy-two pounds. It was served out to both crews for their Sunday's dinner, being the first piece of fresh beef they had tasted since our departure from the Cape of Good Hope in December 1776, a period of near two years and a half.

This evening died John Macintosh, the carpenter's mate, after having laboured under a dysentery ever since our departure from the Sandwich Islands ; he was a very hard-working quiet man, and much regretted by his messmates. He was the fourth person we lost by sickness during the voyage ; but the first who could be said, from his age and the constitutional habits of his body, to have had on our setting out an equal chance with the rest of his comrades : Watman, we supposed to be about sixty years of age ; and Roberts and Mr. Anderson, from the decay which had evidently commenced before we left England, could not, in all pro-

bability, under any circumstances, have lived a greater length of time than they did.

I have already mentioned, that Capt. Clerke's health continued daily to decline, notwithstanding the salutary change of diet which the country of Kamtschatka afforded him. The priest of Paratounca, as soon as he heard of the infirm state he was in, supplied him every day with bread, milk, fresh butter, and fowls, though his house was sixteen miles from the harbour where we lay.

On our first arrival, we found the Russian hospital, which is near the town of St. Peter and St. Paul, in a condition truly deplorable. All the soldiers were, more or less, affected by the scurvy, and a great many in the last stage of that disorder. The rest of the Russian inhabitants were also in the same condition; and we particularly remarked, that our friend the serjeant, by making too free with the spirits we gave him, brought on himself, in the course of a few days, some of the most alarming symptoms of that malady. In this lamentable state, Capt. Clerke put them all under the care of our surgeons, and ordered a supply of sour-kROUT, and malt, for wort, to be furnished for their use. It was astonishing to observe the alteration in the figures of almost every person we met on our return from Bolcheretsk; and I was informed by our surgeons, that they attributed their speedy recovery principally to the effects of the sweet-wort.

On the 1st of June we got on board two hundred and fifty poods, or nine thousand pound weight of rye-flour, with which we were supplied from the stores of St. Peter and St. Paul; and the Discovery had a proportional quantity. The men were immediately put on full allowance of bread, which they had not been indulged in since our leaving the Cape of Good Hope. The same day our watering was completed, having got on board sixty-five tons.

On the 4th we had fresh breezes and hard rain, which disappointed us in our design of dressing the ships, and



obliged us to content ourselves with firing twenty-one guns in honour of the day, and celebrating it in other respects in the best manner we were able. Port, who was left with us on account of his skill in languages, behaved himself with so much modesty and discretion, that as soon as his master was gone, he was no longer Jean Port, but Monsieur Port, the interpreter; and partook, as well as the serjeant (in his capacity of commander of the place), of the entertainment of the day. Our worthy friend, the priest of Paratounca, having got intelligence of its being our king's birth-day, gave also a sumptuous feast; at which some of our gentlemen were present, who seemed highly delighted with their entertainment, which consisted of abundance of good eating and drinking, together with dancing.

On the 8th, twenty head of cattle were sent us by the commander's orders, from the Verchnei ostrog, which is situated on the river Kamtschatka, at the distance of near a hundred miles from this place, in a direct line. They were of a moderate size; and, notwithstanding the Kamtschadales had been seventeen days in driving them down to the harbour, arrived in good condition. The four following days were employed in making ready for sea; and on the 11th, at two in the morning, we began to unmoor; but before we had got one anchor up, it blew so strong a gale from the north-east, that we kept fast, and moored again; conjecturing, from the position of the entrance of the bay, that the current of wind would set up the channel. Accordingly, the pinnace being sent out to examine the passage, returned with an account, that the wind blew strong from the south-east, with a great swell setting into the bay, which would have made any attempt to get to sea very hazardous.

Our friend Port now took his leave of us, and carried with him the box with our journals, which was to go by the major, and the packet that was to be sent express. On the 12th the weather being more moderate, we began to unmoor again; but after breaking the messenger, and reeving a

running purchase with a six inch hawser, which also broke three times, we were obliged at last to heave a strain at low water, and wait for the flowing of the tide to raise the anchor. This project succeeded ; but not without damaging the cable in the wake of the hawse. At three we weighed the best bower, and set sail ; and at eight having little wind, and the tide making against us, we dropped anchor again in ten fathoms, off the mouth of Rakowina harbour ; the ostrog bearing north by east half east, two miles and a half distant ; the Needle Rocks on the east side of the passage, south-south-east half east ; and the high rock, on the west side of the passage, south.

On the 13th at four in the morning, we got under way with the ebb tide ; and there being a dead calm, the boats were sent ahead to tow the ships. At ten the wind springing up from the south-east by south, and the tide having turned, we were again obliged to drop anchor in seven fathoms ; the Three Needle Rocks, bearing south half east ; and the ostrog north half east, at the distance of one mile from the nearest land. After dinner I went with Capt. Gore on shore on the east side of the passage, where we saw, in two different places, the remains of extensive villages ; and on the side of the hill an old ruined parapet, with four or five embrasures. It commanded the passage up the mouth of the bay ; and in Beering's time, as he himself mentions, had guns mounted on it. Near this place were the ruins of some caverns under ground, which we supposed to have been magazines.

At six in the afternoon we weighed with the ebb tide, and turned to windward ; but at eight a thick fog arising, we were obliged to bring to, as our soundings could not afford us a sufficient direction for steering between several sunk rocks, which lie on each side of the passage we had to make. In the morning of the 14th, the fog clearing away, we weighed as soon as the tide began to ebb, and having little wind, sent the boats ahead, to tow ; but at ten o'clock,

both the wind and tide set in so strong from the sea, that we were again obliged to drop anchor in thirteen fathoms, the high rock bearing west one quarter south, distant three quarters of a mile. We remained fast for the rest of the day, the wind blowing fresh into the mouth of the bay ; and toward evening, the weather had a very unusual appearance, being exceedingly dark and cloudy, with an unsettled shifting wind.

Before day-light, on the 15th, we were surprised with a rumbling noise, resembling distant hollow thunder ; and when the day broke, we found the decks and sides of the ships covered with a fine dust like emery, near an inch thick. The air at the same time continued loaded and darkened with this substance, and toward the volcano mountain, situated to the north of the harbour, it was so thick and black, that we could not distinguish the body of the hill. About twelve o'clock, and during the afternoon, the explosions became louder, and were followed by showers of cinders, which were in general about the size of peas ; though many were picked up from the deck larger than a hazel nut. Along with the cinders fell several small stones, which had undergone no change from the action of fire. In the evening we had dreadful thunder and lightning, which, with the darkness of the atmosphere, and the sulphureous smell of the air, produced all together a most awful and terrifying effect. We were at this time about eight leagues from the foot of the mountain.

On the 16th, at day-light, we again weighed anchor, and stood out of the bay ; but the ebb tide setting across the passage upon the eastern shore, and the wind falling, we were driven very near the Three Needle Rocks, which lie on that side of the entrance, and obliged to hoist out the boats, in order to tow the ships clear of them. At noon we were two leagues from the land, and had soundings with forty-three fathoms of line, over a bottom of small stones, of the same kind with those which fell on our decks after

the eruption of the volcano ; but whether they had been left there by the last, or by some former eruptions, we were not able to determine.

The aspect of the country was now very different from what it had been on our first arrival. The snow, excepting what remained on the tops of some very high mountains, had disappeared ; and the sides of the hills, which in many parts were well wooded, were covered with a beautiful verdure.

As it was Capt. Clerke's intention to keep as much in sight of the coast of Kamtschatka as the weather would permit, in order to determine its position, we continued steering to the north-north-east, with light and variable winds till the 18th. The volcano was still seen throwing up immense volumes of smoke, and we had no soundings with one hundred and fifty fathoms, at the distance of four leagues from the shore.

On the 22nd, we passed a dead whale, which emitted a horrid stench, perceivable at upwards of a league distance : it was covered with a great number of sea-birds, that were feasting on it.

On the 24th the wind, which had varied round the compass the three preceding days, fixed at the south-west, and brought clear weather, with which we continued our course to the north-east by north across the bay, without any land in sight. This day we saw a great number of gulls, and were witnesses to the disgusting mode of feeding of the arctic gull, which has procured it the name of the parasite. This bird, which is somewhat larger than the common gull, pursues the latter kind whenever it meets them ; the gull, after flying for some time, with loud screams, and evident marks of great terror, drops its dung, which its pursuer immediately darts at, and catches before it falls into the sea.

On the 1st of July, at noon, Mr. Bligh having moored a small keg with the deep-sea lead, in seventy-five fathoms, found the ship made a course north by east, half a mile an

hour. This he attributed to the effect of a long southerly swell, and not to that of any current. The wind freshening from the south-east toward evening, we shaped our course to the north-east by east, for the point called in Beering's chart Tschukotskoi Noss, which we had observed on the 4th of September last year at the same time that we saw, to the south-east the island, of Saint Laurence. This cape, and Saint Thadeus's Noss, form the north-east and south-west extremities of the large and deep gulph of Anadir, into the bottom of which the river of that name empties itself, dividing as it passes the country of the Koriacs from that of the Tschutski.

The weather continuing to thicken, we lost all sight of land till the 5th, when it appeared both to the north-east and north-west. Our latitude by account, was at this time  $65^{\circ} 24'$ , longitude  $189^{\circ} 14'$ . As the islands of Saint Diomedé, which lie between the two continents in Beering's strait, were determined by us last year to be in latitude  $65^{\circ} 48'$ , we could not reconcile the land to the north-east, with the situation of these islands. We therefore stood toward the land till three in the afternoon, when we were within four miles of it, and finding it to be two islands, were pretty well satisfied of their being the same; but the weather still continuing hazy, to make sure of our situation, we stood over to the coast of Asia till seven in the evening; at which time we were within two or three leagues of the east cape of that continent.

Being at length sure of our position, we held on to the north by east. At ten at night the weather becoming clear, we had an opportunity of seeing, at the same moment, the remarkable peaked hill, near Cape Prince of Wales, on the coast of America, and the east cape of Asia, with the two connecting islands of Saint Diomedé between them.

At noon on the 6th, the latitude by account was  $67^{\circ}$  north, and the longitude  $191^{\circ} 6'$  east. Having already passed a considerable number of large masses of ice, and observed

that it still adhered in several places to the shore on the continent of Asia, we were not much surprised to fall in, at three in the afternoon, with an extensive body of it, stretching away to the westward. The sight gave great discouragement to our hopes of advancing much farther northward this year, than we had done the preceding.

Having little wind in the afternoon, we hoisted out the boats in pursuit of the sea-horses, which were in great numbers on the detached pieces of ice; but they soon returned without success; these animals being exceedingly shy, and before they could come within gun-shot, always making their retreat into the water.

At seven in the evening we hoisted in the boats, and the wind freshening from the southward, we stood on to the north-east, with a view of exploring the continent of America, between the latitudes of  $68^{\circ}$  and  $69^{\circ}$ , which, owing to the foggy weather last year, we had not been able to examine. In this attempt we were again in part disappointed. For on the 7th, at six in the morning, we were stopped by a large field of ice, stretching from north-west to south-east; but soon after, the horizon becoming clear, we had sight of the coast of America, at about ten leagues distance, extending from north-east by east to east, and lying by observation between the  $68^{\circ}$  and  $68^{\circ} 20'$  of latitude. As the weather was clear, and the ice not high, we were enabled to see over a great extent of it. The whole presented a solid and compact surface, not in the smallest degree thawed; and appeared to us likewise to adhere to the land.

The weather soon after changing to hazy, we saw no more of the land; and there not remaining a possibility of approaching nearer to it, we stood to the north-north-west, keeping the ice close on board, and got round its western extremity by noon, when we found it trending nearly north. Our latitude at this time was, by account,  $68^{\circ} 22'$  and longitude  $192^{\circ} 34'$ . We continued our course to the north-north-east, along the edge of the ice, during the remaining part



of the day, passing through many loose pieces that had been broken off from the main body, and against which, notwithstanding all our caution, the ships were driven with great violence. At eight o'clock in the evening, we passed some drift-wood; and at midnight the wind shifted to the north-west: the thermometer fell from 38 to 31 and we had continued showers of snow and sleet.

On the 8th at five in the morning, the wind coming still more to the northward, we could no longer keep on the same tack, on account of the ice, but were obliged to stand to the westward. At this time our soundings had decreased to nineteen fathoms, from which, on comparing it with our observations on the depth of water last year, we concluded that we were not at a greater distance from the American shore than six or seven leagues; but our view was confined within a much shorter compass, by a violent fall of snow. At noon, the latitude, by account, was  $69^{\circ} 21'$ , longitude  $192^{\circ} 42'$ . At two in the afternoon the weather cleared up, and we found ourselves close to an expanse of what appeared from the deck solid ice; but, from the mast-head, it was discovered to be composed of huge compact bodies, close and united toward the outer edge, but in the interior parts several pieces were seen floating in vacant spaces of the water. It extended from north-east by the north to west-south-west. We bore away by the edge of it to the southward, that we might get into clearer water; for the strong northerly winds had drifted down such quantities of loose pieces, that we had been for some time surrounded by them, and could not avoid striking against several, notwithstanding we reefed the top-sails, and stood under an easy sail.

On the 9th we had a fresh gale from the north-north-west, with heavy showers of snow and sleet. The thermometer was in the night time  $28^{\circ}$ , and at noon  $30^{\circ}$ . We continued to steer west-south-west, as before, keeping as near the large body of ice as we could, and had the mis-

fortune to rub off some of the sheathing from the bows against the drift pieces, and to damage the cut-water. Indeed the shocks we could not avoid receiving, were frequently so severe, as to be attended with considerable danger. At noon, the latitude, by account, was  $69^{\circ} 12'$ , and longitude  $188^{\circ} 5'$ . The variation in the afternoon was found to be  $29^{\circ} 39'$  east.

As we had now sailed near forty leagues to the westward, along the edge of the ice, without seeing any opening, or a clear sea to the northward beyond it, and had therefore no prospect of advancing farther north for the present, Capt. Clerke resolved to bear away to the south by east (the only quarter that was clear), and to wait till the season was more advanced, before he made any farther efforts to penetrate through the ice. The intermediate time he proposed to spend in examining the Bay of Saint Laurence, and the coast to the southward of it; as a harbour so near, in case of future damage from the ice, would be very desirable. We also wished to pay another visit to our Tschutski friends; and particularly since the accounts we had heard of them from the commander of Kamtschatka.

We therefore stood on to the southward, till the noon of the 10th, at which time we passed great quantities of drift-ice, and the wind fell to a perfect calm. The latitude, by observation, was  $68^{\circ} 1'$ , longitude  $188^{\circ} 30'$ . We passed several whales in the forenoon, and in the afternoon hoisted out the boats, and sent them in pursuit of the sea-horses, which were in great numbers on the pieces of ice that surrounded us. Our people were more successful than they had been before, returning with three large ones and a young one; besides killing and wounding several others. The gentlemen who went on this party were witnesses of several remarkable instances of parental affection in those animals. On the approach of our boats toward the ice, they all took their cubs under their fins, and endeavoured to escape with them into the sea. Several, whose young

were killed or wounded, and left floating on the surface, rose again, and carried them down, sometimes just as our people were going to take them up into the boat ; and might be traced bearing them to a great distance through the water, which was coloured with their blood : we afterward observed them bringing them at times above the surface, as if for air, and again diving under it with a dreadful bellowing. The female, in particular, whose young had been destroyed, and taken into the boat, became so enraged, that she attacked the cutter, and struck her two tusks through the bottom of it.

At eight in the evening, a breeze sprung up to the eastward, with which we still continued our course to the southward, and at twelve fell in with numerous large bodies of ice. We endeavoured to push through them with an easy sail, for fear of damaging the ship : and having got a little farther to the southward, nothing was to be seen but one compact field of ice, stretching to the south-west, south-east, and north-east, as far as the eye could reach. This unexpected and formidable obstacle put an end to Capt. Clerke's plan of visiting the Tschutski ; for no space remained open, but back again to the northward. Accordingly, at three in the morning of the 11th, we tacked, and stood to that quarter. At noon, the latitude by observation was  $67^{\circ} 49'$ , and longitude  $188^{\circ} 47'$ .

On the 12th we had light winds, with thick hazy weather ; and on trying the current, we found it set to the north-west, at the rate of half a knot an hour. We continued to steer northward, with a moderate southerly breeze and fair weather till the 13th, at ten in the forenoon, when we again found ourselves close in with a solid field of ice to which we could see no limits from the mast-head. This at once dashed all our hopes of penetrating farther, which had been considerably raised, by having now advanced near ten leagues through a space, which on the 9th we had found occupied by impenetrable ice. Our latitude at

this time was  $69^{\circ} 37'$ ; our position nearly in the mid channel between the two continents; and the field of ice extending from east-north-east to west-south-west.

As there did not remain the smallest prospect of getting farther north in the part of the sea where we now were, Capt. Clerke resolved to make one more and final attempt on the American coast, for Baffin's Bay, since we had been able to advance the farthest on this side last year. Accordingly we kept working the remaining part of the day, to the windward, with a fresh easterly breeze. We saw several fulmars and arctic gulls, and passed two trees, both appearing to have lain in the water a long time. The larger was about ten feet in length, and three in circumference, without either bark or branches, but with the roots remaining attached.

On the 14th we stood on to the eastward, with thick and foggy weather, our course being nearly parallel to that we steered the 8th and 9th, but six leagues more to the northward. On the 15th, the wind freshened from the westward, and having in a great measure dispersed the fog, we immediately stood to the northward, that we might take a nearer view of the ice; and in an hour were close in with it, extending from north-north-west to north-east. We found it to be compact and solid; the outer parts were ragged, and of different heights; the interior surface was even, and we judged from eight to ten feet above the level of the sea. The weather becoming moderate for the remaining part of the day, we directed our course according to the trending of the ice, which in many parts formed deep bays.

In the morning of the 16th the wind freshened, and was attended with thick and frequent showers of snow. At eight in the forenoon it blew a strong gale from the west-south-west, and brought us under double-reefed top-sails; when the weather clearing a little, we found ourselves embayed, the ice having taken a sudden turn to the south-east, and in one compact body surrounding us on all sides, except on the south quarter. We therefore hauled our wind to the

southward, being at this time in latitude  $70^{\circ} 8'$  north, and in twenty-six fathoms water; and, as we supposed, about twenty-five leagues from the coast of America. The gale increasing, at four in the afternoon we close reefed the fore and main-top-sails, furled the mizen-top-sail, and got the top-gallant-yards down upon deck. At eight, finding the depth of water had decreased to twenty-two fathoms, which we considered as a proof of our near approach to the American coast, we tacked and stood to the north. We had blowing weather, accompanied with snow, through the night, but next morning it became clear and moderate, and at eight in the forenoon we got the top-gallant yards across, and made sail with the wind still at west-south-west. At noon we were in latitude, by observation,  $69^{\circ} 55'$ , longitude  $194^{\circ} 30'$ . Toward evening the wind slackened, and at midnight it was a calm.

On the 18th, at five in the morning, a light breeze sprung up from the east-north-east, with which we continued our course to the north, in order to regain the ice as soon as possible. We passed some small logs of drift-wood, and saw abundance of sea-parrots, and the small ice-birds, and likewise a number of whales. At noon the latitude by observation was  $70^{\circ} 26'$  and longitude  $194^{\circ} 54'$ ; the depth of water twenty-three fathoms; the ice stretched from north to east-north-east, and was distant about three miles. At one in the afternoon, finding that we were close in with a firm united field of it, extending from west-north-west to east, we tacked, and the wind coming round to the westward, stood on to the eastward, along its edge, till eleven at night. At that time a very thick fog coming on, and the water shoaling to nineteen fathoms, we hauled our wind to the south. The variation observed this day was  $31^{\circ} 20'$  east. It is remarkable, that though we saw no sea-horses on the body of the ice, yet they were in herds, and in greater numbers on the detached fragments, than we had ever observed before. About nine in the evening a white

bear was seen swimming close by the *Discovery* ; it afterwards made to the ice, on which were also two others.

On the 19th, at one in the morning, the weather clearing up, we again steered to the north-east till two, when we were a second time so completely embayed, that there was no opening left but to the south ; to which quarter we accordingly directed our course, returning through a remarkable smooth water, and with very favourable weather, by the same way we had come in. We were never able to penetrate farther north than at this time, when our latitude was  $70^{\circ} 33'$  ; and this was five leagues short of the point to which we advanced last season. We held on to the south-south-west, with light winds from the north-west, by the edge of the main ice, which lay on our left hand, and stretched between us and the continent of America. Our latitude, by observation at noon, was  $70^{\circ} 11'$  ; our longitude  $196^{\circ} 15'$  ; and the depth of water sixteen fathoms. From this circumstance, we judged that the Icy Cape was now only at seven or eight leagues distance ; but though the weather was in general clear, it was at the same time hazy in the horizon ; so that we could not expect to see it.

In the afternoon we saw two white bears in the water, to which we immediately gave chase in the jolly boat, and had the good fortune to kill them both. The larger, which probably was the dam of the younger, being shot first, the other would not quit it, though it might easily have escaped on the ice whilst the men were reloading, but remained swimming about, till after being fired upon several times, it was shot dead.

The dimensions of the larger were as follows :

|                                                   | Ft. | In. |
|---------------------------------------------------|-----|-----|
| From the snout to the end of the tail .....       | 7   | 2   |
| From the snout to the shoulder-bone .....         | 2   | 3   |
| Height of the shoulder .....                      | 4   | 3   |
| Circumference near the fore-legs .....            | 4   | 10  |
| Breadth of the fore-paw .....                     |     | 10  |
|                                                   | lb. |     |
| Weight of the four quarters .....                 | 436 |     |
| Weight of the four quarters of the smallest ..... | 256 |     |



On comparing the dimensions of this with Lord Mulgrave's white bear, they were found almost exactly the same, except in their circumference, where our's fell exceedingly short.

These animals afforded us a few excellent meals of fresh meat. The flesh had indeed a strong fishy taste, but was in every respect infinitely superior to that of the sea-horse; which nevertheless our people were again persuaded, without much difficulty, to prefer to their salted provisions.

At six in the morning of the 20th, a thick fog coming on, we lost sight of the ice for two hours; but the weather clearing, we saw the main body again to the south-south-east, when we hauled our wind, which was easterly, toward it, in the expectation of making the American coast to the south-east, and which we effected at half past ten. At noon, the latitude by account was  $69^{\circ} 33'$ , and longitude  $194^{\circ} 53'$ , and the depth of water nineteen fathoms. The land extended from south by east to south-south-west half west, distant eight or ten leagues, being the same we had seen last year; but it was now much more covered with snow than at that time, and to all appearance the ice adhered to the shore. We continued in the afternoon sailing through a sea of loose ice, and standing toward the land, as near as the wind, which was east-south-east, would permit. At eight the wind lessening, there came on a thick fog, and on perceiving a rippling in the water, we tried the current, which we found to set to the east-north-east, at the rate of a mile an hour, and therefore determined to steer during the night before the wind, in order to stem it, and to oppose the large fragments of loose ice that were setting us on toward the land. The depth of the water at midnight was twenty fathoms.

At eight in the morning of the 21st, the wind freshening, and the fog clearing away, we saw the American coast to the south-east, at the distance of eight or ten leagues, and hauled in for it, but were stopped again by the ice, and obliged to

bear away to the westward, along the edge of it. At noon the latitude by account was  $69^{\circ} 34'$ , and longitude  $193^{\circ}$ , and the depth of water twenty-four fathoms.

Thus a connected solid field of ice, rendering every effort we could make to a nearer approach to the land fruitless, and joining as we judged to it, we took a last farewell of a north-east passage to Old England. I shall beg leave to give, in Capt. Clerke's own words, the reasons of this his final determination, as well as of his future plans; and this the rather, as it is the last transaction his health permitted him to write down.

"It is now impossible to proceed the least farther to the northward upon this coast (America); and it is equally as improbable that this amazing mass of ice should be dissolved by the few remaining summer-weeks which will terminate this season; but it will continue, it is to be believed, as it now is, an insurmountable barrier to every attempt we can possibly make. I therefore think it the best step that can be taken, for the good of the service, to trace the sea over to the Asiatic coast, and to try if I can find an opening, that will admit me farther north; if not, to see what more is to be done upon that coast; where I hope, yet cannot much flatter myself, to meet with better success; for the sea is now so choaked with ice, that a passage I fear is totally out of the question."

Capt. Clerke having now determined, for the reasons assigned in the above paragraph, to give up all farther attempts on the coast of America, and to make his last efforts in search of a passage on the coast of the opposite continent, we continued during the afternoon of the 21st of July, to steer to the west-north-west, through much loose ice. At ten at night, discovering the main body of it through the fog, right ahead, and almost close to us, and being unwilling to take a southerly course so long as we could possibly avoid it, we hauled our wind, which was easterly, and stood to the north-ward; but in an hour after, the weather clearing up,

and finding ourselves surrounded by a compact field of ice on every side, except to the south-south-west, we tacked and stood on in that direction, in order to get clear of it.

It may be remarked that, since the 8th of this month, we had twice traversed this sea, in lines nearly parallel with the run we had just now made; but in the first traverses we were not able to penetrate so far north, by eight or ten leagues, as in the second; and that in the last we had again found an united body of ice, generally about five leagues to the southward of its position in the preceding run. As this proves that the large compact fields of ice, which we saw, were moveable, or diminishing; at the same time, it does not leave any well-founded expectation of advancing much farther in the most favourable seasons.

At seven in the evening, the weather being hazy, and no ice in sight, we bore away to the westward; but at half past eight the fog dispersing, we found ourselves in the midst of loose ice, and close in with the main body; we therefore stood upon a wind, which was still easterly, and kept beating to windward during the night, in hopes of weathering the loose pieces, which the freshness of the wind kept driving down upon us in such quantities, that we were in manifest danger of being blocked up by them.

In the morning of the 23rd, the clear water, in which we continued to stand to and fro, did not exceed a mile and a half, and was every instant lessening. At length, after using our utmost endeavours to clear the loose ice, we were driven to the necessity of forcing the passage to the southward, which at half past seven we accomplished, but not without subjecting the ship to some severe shocks. The *Discovery* was less successful. For at eleven, when they had nigh got clear out, she became so entangled by several large pieces, that her way was stopped, and immediately dropping bodily to leeward, she fell broadside foremost, on the edge of a considerable body of ice; and having at the same time an open sea to windward, the surf caused her to

beat violently upon it. This mass at length either so far broke, or moved, as to set them at liberty to make another trial to escape ; but unfortunately before the ship gathered way enough to be under command, she again fell to leeward on another fragment ; and the swell making it unsafe to lie to windward, and finding no chance of getting clear, they pushed into a small opening, furlled their sails, and made fast with ice-hooks.

In this dangerous situation we saw them at noon, about three miles from us, bearing north-west, a fresh gale from the south-east driving more ice to the north-west, and increasing the body that lay between us. Our latitude, by account, was  $69^{\circ} 8'$ , the longitude  $187^{\circ}$ , and the depth of water twenty-eight fathoms. To add to the gloomy apprehensions which began to force themselves on us, at half past four in the afternoon, the weather becoming thick and hazy, we lost sight of the *Discovery* ; but that we might be in a situation to afford her every assistance in our power, we kept standing on close by the edge of the ice. At six, the wind happily coming round to the north, gave us some hopes that the ice might drift away and release her ; and in that case, as it was uncertain in what condition she might come out, we kept firing a gun every half hour, in order to prevent a separation. Our apprehensions for her safety did not cease till nine, when we heard her guns in answer to ours ; and soon after being hailed by her, were informed that upon the change of wind the ice began to separate ; and that setting all their sails, they forced a passage through it. We learned farther, that whilst they were encompassed by it, they found the ship drift with the main body to the north-east, at the rate of half a mile an hour. We were sorry to find that the *Discovery* had rubbed off a great deal of the sheathing from her bows, and was become very leaky, from the strokes she had received when she fell upon the edge of the ice.

On the 24th we had fresh breezes from south-west, with

hazy weather, and kept running to the south-east till eleven in the forenoon, when a large body of loose ice, extending from north-north-east round by the east, to south-south-east, and to which (though the weather was tolerably clear) we could see no end, again obstructed our course. We therefore kept working to windward, and at noon our latitude by observation was  $68^{\circ} 53'$ , longitude  $168^{\circ}$ ; the variation of the compass  $22^{\circ} 30'$  east. At four in the afternoon it became calm, and we hoisted out the boats in pursuit of the sea-horses, which were in prodigious herds on every side of us. We killed ten of them, which were as many as we could make use of for eating, or for converting into lamp oil. We kept on with the wind from the south-west, along the edge of the ice, which extended in a direction almost due east and west, till four in the morning of the 25th, when observing a clear sea beyond it to the south-east, we made sail that way, with a view of forcing through it. By six we had cleared it, and continued the remainder of the day running to the south-east without any ice in sight. At noon, our latitude by observation was  $68^{\circ} 38'$ , longitude  $180^{\circ} 9'$ , and the depth of water thirty fathoms. At midnight we tacked and stood to the westward, with a fresh gale from the south; and at ten in the forenoon of the 26th, the ice again shewed itself, extending from north-west to south. It appeared loose, and drifting by the force of the wind to the northward. At noon, our latitude by observation was  $68^{\circ}$  north, longitude  $188^{\circ} 10'$  east; and we had soundings with twenty-eight fathoms. For the remaining part of the day, and till noon of the 27th, we kept standing backward and forward, in order to clear ourselves of different bodies of ice. At noon we were in latitude, by observation,  $67^{\circ} 47'$ , longitude  $188^{\circ}$ . At two in the afternoon, we saw the continent to the south by east; and at four, having run since noon with a south-south-east wind to the south-west, we were surrounded by loose masses of ice, with the firm body of it in sight, stretching in a north by west, and a south by

east direction, as far as the eye could reach ; beyond which we saw the coast of Asia, bearing south and south by east.

As it was now necessary to come to some determination with respect to the course we were next to steer, Capt. Clerke sent a boat, with the carpenters, on board the *Discovery*, to inquire into the particulars of the damage she had sustained. They returned in the evening with the report of Captain Gore, and of the carpenters of both ships, that the damages they had received were of a kind that would require three weeks to repair ; and that it would be necessary, for that purpose, to go into some port.

Thus finding a farther advance to the northward, as well as a nearer approach to either continent, obstructed by a sea blocked up with ice, we judged it both injurious to the service, by endangering the safety of the ships, as well as fruitless, with respect to the design of our voyage, to make any farther attempts toward a passage. This therefore, added to the representations of Capt. Gore, determined Capt. Clerke not to lose more time in what he concluded to be an unattainable object, but to sail for Awatska Bay, to repair our damages there ; and before the winter should set in, and render all other efforts toward discovery impracticable, to explore the coast of Japan.

I will not endeavour to conceal the joy that brightened the countenance of every individual, as soon as Capt. Clerke's resolutions were made known. We were all heartily sick of a navigation full of danger, and in which the utmost perseverance had not been repaid with the smallest probability of success. We therefore turned our faces toward home, after an absence of three years, with a delight and satisfaction, which notwithstanding the tedious voyage we had still to make, and the immense distance we had to run, were as freely entertained, and perhaps as fully enjoyed, as if we had been already in sight of the Land's-end.

On the 28th, we kept working to windward with a fresh breeze from the south-east, having the coast of Asia still in



sight. At four in the morning the Cape, which, on the authority of Muller, we have called Serdze Kamen, bore south-south-west, distant six or seven leagues. We saw in different places, upon the tops of the hills, which rise inland on both sides of the Cape, protuberances of a considerable height, which had the appearance of huge rocks, or pillars of stone.

On the 29th the wind still continuing contrary, we made but slow progress to the southward. At midnight we had thick foggy weather, accompanied with a breeze from the north-north-west, with which we directed our course to the south-south-east through the strait, and had no land in sight till seven in the evening of the 30th; when the fog clearing away, we saw Cape Prince of Wales bearing south by east, distant about six leagues; and the island St. Diomedé south-west by west. We now altered our course to the west, and at eight made the east cape, which at midnight bore west by north, distant four leagues. In the night we steered to the south-south-west, with a west-north-westerly breeze; and at four in the morning of the 31st, the east cape bore north-north-east, and the north-east part of the bay of St. Laurence (where we anchored last year) west by south, its distance being four leagues. As we could not have worked up to windward without a greater waste of time than the object appeared to deserve, we ran across the bay, regretting much, as we passed along, the loss of this opportunity of paying a second visit to the Tschutski. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was  $65^{\circ} 6'$ , and longitude  $189^{\circ}$ . The south point of the bay of St. Laurence bore north by west one quarter west, and was distant seven or eight leagues.

Having now passed Beering's Strait, and taken our final leave of the north-east coast of Asia, it may not be improper, on this occasion, to state the grounds on which we have ventured to adopt two general conclusions respecting its extent, in opposition to the opinions of Mr. Muller. The

first, that the promontory named East Cape, is actually the easternmost point of that quarter of the globe; or, in other words, that no part of the continent extends in longitude beyond  $190^{\circ} 22'$  east: the second, that the latitude of the north-easternmost extremity falls to the southward of  $70^{\circ}$  north. With respect to the former, if such land exist, it must necessarily be to the north of latitude  $69^{\circ}$ , where the discoveries made in the present voyage terminate; and therefore the probable direction of the coast, beyond this point, is the question I shall endeavour, in the first place, to investigate.

As the Russian is the only nation that has hitherto navigated these seas, all our information respecting the situation of the coast to the northward of Cape North, must necessarily be derived from the charts and journals of the persons who have been employed at various times in ascertaining the limits of that empire; and these are for the most part so imperfect, so confused, and contradictory, that it is not easy to form any distinct idea of their pretended, much less to collect the amount of their real discoveries. It is on this account, that the extent and form of the peninsula, inhabited by the Tschutski, still remains a point on which the Russian geographers are much divided. Mr. Muller, in his map, published in the year 1754, supposes this country to extend toward the north-east, to the  $75^{\circ}$  of latitude, and in longitude  $190^{\circ}$  east of Greenwich, and to terminate in a round cape, which he calls Tschukotskoi Noss. To the southward of this cape he conceives the coast to form a bay to the westward, bounded in latitude,  $67^{\circ} 18'$ , by Serdze Kamen, the northernmost point seen by Beering in his expedition in the year 1728. The map published by the academy of St. Petersburg, in the year 1776, gives the whole peninsula entirely a new form, placing its north-easternmost extremity in the latitude of  $73^{\circ}$ , longitude  $178^{\circ} 30'$ . The easternmost point in latitude  $65^{\circ} 30'$ , longitude  $189^{\circ} 30'$ . All the other maps we saw, both printed and in manuscript, vary between these two, apparently more according to the fancy

of the compiler, than on any grounds of more accurate information. The only point in which there is a general coincidence, without any considerable variation, is in the position of the east cape in latitude  $66^{\circ}$ . The form of the coast, both to the south and north of this cape, in the map of the academy, is exceedingly erroneous, and may be totally disregarded. In that of Mr Muller, the coast to the northward bears a considerable resemblance to our survey, as far as the latter extends, except that it does not trend sufficiently to the westward; receding only about  $5^{\circ}$  of longitude, between the latitude of  $66^{\circ}$  and  $69^{\circ}$ ; whereas in reality it recedes near ten. Between the latitude of  $69^{\circ}$  and  $74^{\circ}$ , he makes the coast bend round to the north and north-east, and to form a considerable promontory. On what authority, now remains to be examined.

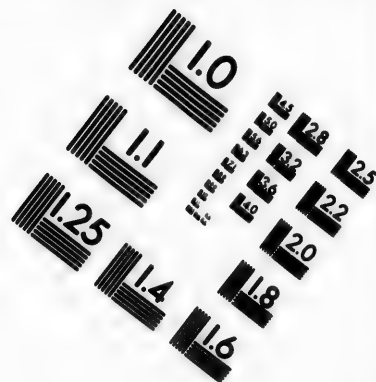
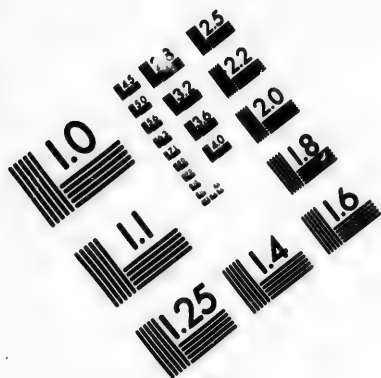
Mr. Coxe, whose accurate researches into this subject give his opinion great weight, is persuaded that the extremity of the Noss in question was never passed by Deshneff and his party, who sailed from the river Kovyma in the year 1648, and are supposed to have got round it into the Anadir. As the account of this expedition, the substance of which the reader will find in Mr. Coxe's account of the Russian Discoveries, contains no geographical delineation of the coast along which they sailed, its position must be conjectured from incidental circumstances; and from these it appears very manifest, that the Tschukotskoi Noss of Deshneff is no other than the promontory called by Capt. Cook the East Cape. Speaking of the Noss, he says, "One might sail from the isthmus to the river Anadir, with a fair wind, in three days and three nights." This exactly coincides with the situation of the East Cape, which is about one hundred and twenty leagues from the mouth of the Anadir; and as there is no other isthmus to the northward between that and the latitude  $69^{\circ}$ , it is obvious that, by this description, he must intend either the cape in question, or some other to the southward of it. In another place he

says, "Over against the isthmus there are two islands in the sea, upon which were seen people of the Tschutski nation, through whose lips were run pieces of the teeth of the sea-horse." This again perfectly agrees with the two islands situated to the south-east of the East Cape. We saw indeed no inhabitants on them, but it is not at all improbable that a party of the Americans from the opposite continent, whom this description accurately suits, might, at that time, have been accidentally there; and whom it was natural enough for him to mistake for a tribe of the Tschutski.

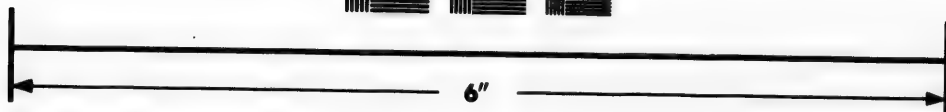
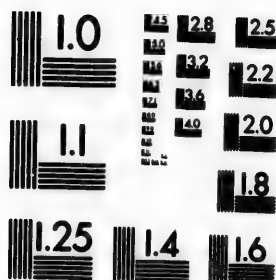
These two circumstances are of so striking and unequivocal a nature, that they appear to me conclusive on the point of the Tschukotskoi Noss, notwithstanding there are others of a more doubtful kind, which we have from the same authority, and which now remain to be considered. "To go," says Deshneff in another account, "from the Kovyma to the Anadir, a great promontory stretches between north and north-east." It was probably from the expressions contained in these passages that Mr. Muller was induced to give the country of the Tschutski the form we find in his map; but had he been acquainted with the situation of the east cape, as ascertained by Capt. Cook, and the remarkable coincidence between it and this promontory or isthmus (for it must be observed, that Deshneff appears to be all along speaking of the same thing), in the circumstances already mentioned, I am confident he would not have thought those expressions, merely by themselves, of sufficient weight to warrant him in extending the north-eastern extremity of Asia, either so far to the north or to the eastward. For, after all, these expressions are not irreconcilable with the opinion we have adopted, if we suppose Deshneff to have taken these bearings from the small bight which lies to the westward of the cape.

The disposition of the Cossack Popoff, taken at the Anadirskoi ostrog in the year 1711, seems to have been the next authority on which Mr. Muller has proceeded; and besides





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these two, I am not acquainted with any other. This Cossack, together with several others, were sent by land to demand tribute from the independent Tschutski tribes, who lived about the Noss. The first circumstance in the account of this journey that can lead to the situation of Tschukotskoi Noss, is its distance from Anadirsk; and this is stated to be ten weeks journey with loaded rein-deer; on which account, it is added, their day's journey was but very small. It is impossible to conclude much from so vague an account; but, as the distance between the east cape and the ostrog is upward of two hundred leagues in a straight line, and therefore may be supposed to allow twelve or fifteen miles a day, its situation cannot be reckoned incompatible with Popoff's calculation. The next circumstance mentioned in this deposition is, that their route lay by the foot of a rock called Matkol, at the bottom of a great gulf. This gulf Muller supposes to be the bay he had laid down between latitude  $66^{\circ}$  and  $72^{\circ}$ ; and accordingly places the rock Matkol in the centre of it; but it appears equally probable, even if we had not so many reasons to doubt the existence of that bay, that it might be some part of the gulf of Anadir, which they could undoubtedly touch upon in their road from the ostrog to the east cape.

But what seems to put this matter beyond all dispute, and to prove that the cape visited by Popoff cannot be to the northward of  $69^{\circ}$  latitude is, that part of his deposition, which I have already quoted, relative to the island lying off the Noss, from whence the opposite continent might be seen. For as the two continents in latitude  $69^{\circ}$ , have diverged so far as to be more than three hundred miles distant, it is highly improbable that the Asiatic coast should again tread in such a manner to the eastward, as to come nearly within sight of the coast of America.

If these arguments should be deemed conclusive against the existence of the peninsula of the Tschutski, as laid down by Muller, it will follow that the east cape is the Tschukots-

koi Noss of the more early Russian navigators; and consequently, that the undescribed coast from the latitude of  $68^{\circ}$  to the mouth of the river Kovyma, must uniformly trend more or less to the westward. As an additional proof of this, it may be remarked, that the Tschukotskoi Noss is always represented as dividing the sea of Kovyma from that of Anadir, which could not be the case if any considerable cape had projected to the north-east in the higher latitudes. Thus, in the depositions taken at Anadirsk, it is related, "that opposite the Noss, on both sides, as well in the sea of Kovyma, as in that of Anadir, an island is said to be seen at a great distance, which the Tschutski call a large country; and say that people dwell there who have large teeth in their mouths that project through their cheeks." Then follows a description of these people and their country, exactly corresponding with our accounts of the opposite continent.

The last question that arises is, to what degree of northern latitude this coast extends before it trends more directly to the westward. If the situation of the mouth of the Kovyma, both with respect to its latitude and longitude, were accurately determined, it would perhaps not be very difficult to form a probable conjecture upon this point. Capt. Cook was always strongly of opinion that the northern coast of Asia, from the Indigirka eastward, has hitherto been generally laid down more than two deg. to the northward of its true position; and he has, therefore, on the authority of a map that was in his possession, and on the information he received at Oonalashka, placed the mouth of the river Kovyma, in his chart of the north-west coast of America, and north-east of Asia, in lat.  $68^{\circ}$ . Should he be right in this conjecture, it is probable, for the reasons that have been already stated, that the Asiatic coast does not any where exceed  $70^{\circ}$  before it trends to the westward; and consequently, that we were within  $1^{\circ}$  of its north-eastern extremity. For, if the continent be supposed to stretch any where to the northward of Shelatskoi Noss, it is scarcely possible that so extraordi-

nary a circumstance should not have been mentioned by the Russian navigators; and we have already shewn that they make mention of no remarkable promontory between the Kovyma and the Anadir, except the east cape. Another circumstance, related by Deshneff, may, perhaps, be thought a further confirmation of this opinion, namely, that he met with no impediment from ice in navigating round the north-east extremity of Asia; though, he adds, that this sea is not always so free from it, as indeed is manifest from the failure of his first expedition, and since that, from the unsuccessful attempts of Shalauoff, and the obstacles we met with, in two different years, in our present voyage.

The continent left undetermined, in our chart between Cape North, and the mouth of the Kovyma is, in longitudinal extent, one hundred and twenty-five leagues. One third, or about forty leagues, of this distance, from the Kovyma eastward, was explored in the year 1723, by a sinbojarskoi of Jakutz whose name was Feodor Amossoff, by whom Mr. Muller was informed, that its direction was to the eastward. It is said to have been since accurately surveyed by Shalauoff, whose chart makes it trend to the north-east by east, as far as the Shelatskoi Noss, which he places about forty-three leagues to the eastward of the Kovyma. The space between this Noss and Cape North, about eighty-two leagues, is therefore the only part of the Russian empire that now remains unascertained.

But if the river Kovyma be erroneously situated with respect to its longitude, as well as in its latitude, a supposition for which probable grounds are not wanting, the extent of the unexplored coast will become proportionably diminished. The reasons which incline me to believe that the mouth of this river is placed in the Russian charts much too far to the westward are as follow: First, because the accounts that are given of the navigation of the Frozen Sea from that river, round the north-east point of Asia to the gulf of Anadir, do not accord with the supposed distance

between those places. Secondly, because the distance over land from the Kovyma to the Anadir is represented by the early Russian travellers as a journey easily performed, and of no very extraordinary length. Thirdly, because the coast from the Shelatskoi Noss of Shalauoff seems to trend directly south-east to the East Cape. If this be so, it will follow, that as we were probably not more than  $1^{\circ}$  to the southward of Shelatskoi Noss, only sixty miles of the Asiatic coast remain unascertained.

Had Capt. Cook lived to this period of our voyage, and experienced, in a second attempt, the impracticability of a north-east or north-west passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean, he would doubtless have laid before the public, in one connected view, an account of the obstacles which defeated this, the primary object of our expedition, together with his observations on a subject of such magnitude, and which had engaged the attention, and divided the opinions of philosophers and navigators for upward of two hundred years. I am very sensible how unequal I am to the task of supplying this deficiency; but that the expectations of the reader may not be wholly disappointed, I must beg his candid acceptance of the following observations, as well as of those I have already ventured to offer him, relative to the extent of the north-east coast of Asia.

The evidence that has been so fully and judiciously stated in the introduction, amounts to the highest degree of probability that a north-west passage from the Atlantic into the Pacific Ocean, cannot exist to the southward of  $65^{\circ}$  of latitude. If then there exist a passage, it must be either through Baffin's Bay, or round by the North of Greenland, in the western hemisphere, or else through the Frozen Ocean, to the northward of Siberia, in the eastern; and on whichever side it lies, the navigator must necessarily pass through Beering's Strait. The impracticability of penetrating into the Atlantic on either side, through the strait, is therefore

all that remains to be submitted to the consideration of the public.

As far as our experience went, it appears, that the north of Beering's Strait is clearer of ice in August than in July, and perhaps in a part of September it may be still more free. But after the equinox the days shorten so fast, that no farther thaw can be expected; and we cannot rationally allow so great an effect to the warm weather in the first half of September, as to imagine it capable of dispersing the ice from the most northern parts of the American coast. But admitting this to be possible, it must at least be granted, that it would be madness to attempt to run from the Icy Cape to the known parts of Baffin's Bay (a distance of four hundred and twenty leagues), in so short a time as that passage can be supposed to continue open.

Upon the Asiatic side there appears still less probability of success, both from what came to our own knowledge, with respect to the state of the sea to the southward of Cape North, and also from what we learn from the experience of the Lieutenants under Beering's direction, and the journal of Shalauoff, in regard to that on the north of Siberia.

The voyage of Deshneff, if its truth be admitted, proves undoubtedly the possibility of passing round the north-east point of Asia; but when the reader reflects that near a century and a half has elapsed since the time of that navigator, during which, in an age of very great curiosity and enterprise, no man has yet been able to follow him, he will not entertain very sanguine expectations of the public advantages that can be derived from it. But let us even suppose, that in some singularly favourable season a ship has found a clear passage round the coast of Siberia, and is safely arrived at the mouth of the Lena, still there remains the Cape of Taimura, which the good fortune of no single voyager has hitherto doubled.

It is, however, contended, that there are strong reasons for believing that the sea is more free from ice the nearer we



approach to the pole; and that all the ice we saw in the lower latitudes was formed in the great rivers of Siberia and America, the breaking up of which had filled the intermediate sea. But even if that supposition be true, it is equally so, that there can be no access to those open seas, unless this great mass of ice is so far dissolved in the summer as to admit of a ship's getting through it. If this be the fact, we have taken a wrong time of the year for attempting to find this passage, which should have been explored in April and May, before the rivers were broken up. But how many reasons may be given against such a supposition? Our experience at Saint Peter and Saint Paul enabled us to judge what might be expected farther north; and upon that ground we had reason to doubt whether the continents might not in winter be even joined by the ice; and this agreed with the stories we heard in Kamtschatka, that on the Siberian coast they go out from the shore in winter upon the ice to greater distances than the breadth of the sea is in some parts from one continent to the other.

In the depositions referred to above, the following remarkable circumstance is related. Speaking of the land seen from the Tshukotskoi Noss, it is said, "that in summer they sail in one day to the land in baidares, a sort of vessel constructed of whale-bone, and covered with seal-skins; and in winter time, going swift with rein deer, the journey may be made in a day." A sufficient proof that the two countries were usually joined together by the ice.

The account given by Mr. Muller of one of the expeditions undertaken to discover a supposed island in the Frozen Sea, is still more remarkable. "In the year 1714, a new expedition was prepared "from Jakutzk, for the same place, under the command of Alexei Markoff, who was to sail from the mouth of the Jana; and if the Schitiki were not fit for sea voyages, he was to construct, at a proper place, vessels fit for prosecuting the discoveries without danger.

On his arrival at Ust janskoe Simovie, the port at

which he was to embark, he sent an account dated February 2, 1715, to the Chancery of Jakutzk, mentioning that it was impossible to navigate the sea, as it was continually frozen both in summer and winter ; and that consequently the intended expedition was no otherwise to be carried on but with sledges drawn by dogs. In this manner he accordingly set out, with nine persons, on the 10th of March the same year, and returned on the 3d of April to Ust janskoe Simovie. The account of his journey is as follows : that he went seven days as fast as his dogs could draw him (which, in good ways and weather, is eighty or a hundred wersts in a day, directly towards the north, upon the ice, without discovering any island ; that it was not possible for him to proceed farther, the ice rising in the sea like mountains ; that he climbed to the top of some of them, whence he was able to see to a great distance round about him, but could discern no appearance of land ; and that at last wanting food for his dogs, many of them died, which obliged him to return.

Besides these arguments, which proceed from an admission of the hypothesis, that the ice in those seas comes from the rivers, there are others which give great room to suspect the truth of the hypothesis itself. Captain Cook, whose opinion respecting the formation of ice had formerly coincided with that of the theorists we are now controverting, found abundant reason, in the present voyage, for changing his sentiments. We found the coast of each continent to be low, the soundings to be gradually decreasing toward them, and a striking resemblance between the two ; which, together with the description Mr. Hearne gives of the coppermine river, afford reason to conjecture, that whatever rivers may empty themselves into the Frozen Sea, from the American continent, are of the same nature with those on the Asiatic side, which are represented to be so shallow at the entrance, as to admit only small vessels ; whereas the ice we have seen rises above the level of the sea to a height equal to the depth of those rivers, so that its entire height must be at least ten times greater.

The curious reader will also, in this place, be led naturally to reflect on another circumstance, which appears very incompatible with the opinion of those who imagine land to be necessary for the formation of ice ; I mean the different state of the sea about Spitsbergen, and to the north of Beering's Strait. It is incumbent on them to explain how it comes to pass, that in the former quarter, and in the vicinity of much known land, the navigator annually penetrates to nearly  $80^{\circ}$  north latitude ; whereas, on the other side, his utmost efforts have not been able to carry him beyond  $71^{\circ}$  ; where, moreover, the continents diverge nearly east and west, and where there is no land yet known to exist near the pole. For the farther satisfaction of the reader on this point, I shall beg leave to refer him to Observations made during a Voyage round the World, by Dr. Forster, where he will find the question of the formation of ice fully and satisfactorily discussed, and the probability of open polar seas disproved by a variety of powerful arguments.

I shall conclude these remarks with a short comparative view of the progress we made to the northward, at the two different seasons we were engaged in that pursuit, together with a few general observations relative to the sea, and the coasts of the two continents, which lie to the north of Beering's Strait.

It may be observed, that in the year 1778 we did not meet with the ice till we advanced to the latitude of  $70^{\circ}$ , on August 17th, and that then we found it in compact bodies, extending as far as the eye could reach, and of which a part or the whole was moveable, since, by its drifting down upon us, we narrowly escaped being hemmed in between it and the land. After experiencing both how fruitless and dangerous it would be to attempt to penetrate farther north, between the ice and the land, we stood over toward the Asiatic side, between the latitude  $69^{\circ}$  and  $70^{\circ}$ , frequently encountering in this tract large and extensive fields of ice ; and though, by reason of the fogs and thickness of the weather,

we were not able absolutely and entirely to trace a connected line of it across, yet we were sure to meet with it before we reached the latitude of  $70^{\circ}$ , whenever we attempted to stand to the northward. On the 26th of August, in latitude  $69\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ , and longitude  $184^{\circ}$ , we were obstructed by it in such quantities, as made it impossible for us to pass either to the north or west, and obliged us to run along the edge of it to the south-south-west, till we saw land, which we afterwards found to be the coast of Asia. With the season thus far advanced, the weather setting in with snow and sleet, and other signs of approaching winter, we abandoned our enterprize for that time.

In this second attempt we could do little more than confirm the observations made in the first; for we were never able to approach the continent of Asia higher than the latitude of  $67^{\circ}$ , nor that of America in any parts, excepting a few leagues between the latitude of  $68^{\circ}$  and  $68^{\circ} 20'$ , that were not seen the last year. We were now obstructed by ice  $3^{\circ}$  lower, and our endeavours to push farther to the northward were principally confined to the mid space between the two coasts. We penetrated near  $3$  deg. farther on the American side than on the Asiatic, meeting with the ice both years sooner, and in greater quantities on the latter coast. As we advanced north, we still found the ice more compact and solid; yet, as in our different traverses from side to side, we passed over spaces which had before been covered with it, we conjectured that most of what we saw was moveable. Its height, on a medium, we took to be from eight to ten feet, and that of the highest to have been sixteen or eighteen. We again tried the currents twice, and found them unequal, but never to exceed one mile an hour. By comparing the reckoning with the observations, we also found the current to set different ways, yet more from the south-west than any other quarter; but whatever their direction might be, their effect was so trifling, that no conclusions respecting the existence of any passage to the northward could be drawn from them. We found the month of July to be infi-

nitely colder than that of August. The thermometer in July was once at 28 deg. ; whereas the last year, in August, it was very rare to have it so low as the freezing point. In both seasons we had some high winds, all of which came from the south-west. We were subject to fogs whenever the wind was moderate, from whatever quarter, but they attended southerly winds more constantly than contrary ones.

The straits between the two continents were ascertained to be thirteen leagues, beyond which they diverge to north-east by east and west-north-west. A great similarity is observable in the appearance of the two countries, to the northward of the straits. Both are destitute of wood. The shores are low, with mountains rising to a great height farther up the country. The depth of water in the mid-way between them was twenty-nine and thirty fathoms, decreasing gradually as we approached either continent, with the difference of being somewhat shoaler on the American than on the Asiatic coast, at the same distance from land. The bottom in the middle was a soft slimy mud, and on drawing near to either shore, a brown sand, intermixed with small fragments of bones, and a few shells. We observed but little tide or current, what there was came from the westward.

But it is now time to resume the narrative of our voyage, which was broken off on the 31st of July, on which day at noon we had advanced eighteen leagues to the southward of the East Cape.

We had light airs from the south-west, till noon of the 1st of August; the coast of Asia extended from north-west by west to west-half-south, distant about twelve leagues; and the land to the eastward of St. Laurence bore south-half-west. On the 2nd, the weather becoming clear, we saw the same land at noon, bearing from west-south-west-half-west to south-east, making in a number of high hummocks, which had the appearance of separate islands; the latitude, by observation was  $64^{\circ} 3'$ , longitude  $189^{\circ} 28'$ , and depth of water seventeen fathoms. We did not approach this land sufficiently near to determine

whether it was one island, or composed of a cluster together. Its westernmost part we passed July 3rd, in the evening, and then supposed to be the island of St. Laurence; the easternmost we ran close by in September last year, and this we named Clerk's Island, and found it to consist of a number of high cliffs, joined together by very low land. Though we mistook the last year those cliffs for separate islands, till we approached very near the shore, I should still conjecture that the island Saint Laurence was distinct from Clerke's island, since there appeared a considerable space between them, where we could not perceive the smallest rising of ground. In the afternoon we also saw what bore the appearance of a small island to the north-east of the land which was seen at noon, and which, from the haziness of the weather, we had only sight of once. We estimated its distance to be nineteen leagues from the island of Saint Laurence, in a north-east by east-half-east direction. On the 3rd we had light variable winds, and directed our course round the north-west point of the island of Saint Laurence. On the 4th, at noon, our latitude, by account, was  $64^{\circ} 8'$ , longitude  $188^{\circ}$ : the island Saint Laurence bearing south one quarter east, distant seven leagues. In the afternoon a fresh breeze springing up from the east, we steered to the south-south-west, and soon lost sight of Saint Laurence. From this time to the 17th, we were making the best of our way to the south, without any occurrence worth remarking, except that the wind coming from the western quarter, forced us farther to the eastward than we wished, as it was our intention to make Beering's island.

On the 17th, at half past four in the morning, we saw land to the north-west, which we could not approach, the wind blowing from that quarter. The land in sight bore north by west twelve or fourteen leagues distant. This land we take to be the island Mednoi, laid down in the Russian charts to the south-east of Beering's Island. It is high land, and appeared clear of snow.

Capt. Clerke was now no longer able to get out of his bed,



he therefore desired the officers would receive their orders from me, and directed that we should proceed to Awatska Bay. The wind continuing westerly, we stood on to the south, till early on the morning of the 19th, when after a few hours rain, it blew from the eastward, and freshened to a strong gale. We accordingly made the most of it whilst it lasted, by standing to the westward under all the sail we could carry. On the 20th, the wind shifting to the southwest, our course was to the west-north-west. On the 21st, at half past five in the morning, we saw a very high peaked mountain on the coast of Kamtschatka, called Cheepoonskoi Mountain, from its lying behind the Noss, bearing north-west by north, twenty-five or thirty leagues distant. At noon the coast extended from north by east to west, with a very great haziness upon it, and distant about twelve leagues. We had light airs the remaining part of this and the following day, and got no soundings with one hundred and forty fathoms of line.

On the 22nd of August, 1779, at nine o'clock in the morning, departed this life Captain Charles Clerke, in the thirty-eighth year of his age. He died of a consumption, which had evidently commenced before he left England, and of which he had lingered during the whole voyage. His very gradual decay had long made him a melancholy object to his friends; yet the equanimity with which he bore it, the constant flow of good spirits, which continued to the last hour, and a cheerful resignation to his fate, afforded them some consolation. It was impossible not to feel a more than common degree of compassion for a person whose life had been a continued scene of those difficulties and hardships to which a seaman's occupation is subject, and under which he at last sunk. He was brought up to the navy from his earliest youth, and had been in several actions during the war which began in 1756, particularly in that between the *Bellona* and *Courageux*, where being stationed in the mizen-top, he was carried overboard with the mast, but was taken up without having received any hurt. He was midshipman in the *Dolphin*, commanded by

Commodore Byron, on her first voyage round the world, and afterward served on the American station. In 1768, he made his second voyage round the world, in the *Endeavour*, as master's mate, and by the promotion which took place during the expedition, he returned a lieutenant. His third voyage round the world was in the *Resolution*, of which he was appointed second lieutenant, and soon after his return, in 1775, he was promoted to the rank of master and commander. When the present expedition was ordered to be fitted out, he was appointed to the *Discovery*, to accompany Capt. Cook ; and, by the death of the latter, succeeded, as has been already mentioned, to the chief command.

It would be doing his memory extreme injustice not to say, that during the short time the expedition was under his direction, he was most zealous and anxious for its success. His health, about the time the principal command devolved upon him, began to decline very rapidly, and was every way unequal to encounter the rigours of a high northern climate. But the vigour and activity of his mind had, in no shape, suffered by the decay of his body : and though he knew, that by delaying his return to a warmer climate, he was giving up the only chance that remained for his recovery, yet, careful and jealous to the last degree, that a regard to his own situation should never bias his judgment to the prejudice of the service, he persevered in the search of a passage, till it was the opinion of every officer in both ships that it was impracticable, and that any farther attempts would not only be fruitless, but dangerous.

I sent Mr. Williamson to acquaint Capt. Gore with the death of Captain Clerke, and received a letter from him, ordering me to use all my endeavours to keep in company with the *Discovery* ; and in case of a separation, to make the best of my way to the harbour of Saint Peter and Saint Paul. We had light airs in the afternoon, which lasted through the forenoon of the 2<sup>d</sup> grd. At noon a fresh breeze springing up from the eastward, we stood in for the entrance of Awatska Bay ; and at six in the evening saw it bearing west-north-west half west,

distant five leagues. At eight, the light-house, in which we now found a good light, bore north-west by west three miles distant. The wind about this time died away ; but the tide being in our favour, we sent the boats ahead, and towed beyond the narrow parts of the entrance ; and, at one o'clock in the morning of the 24th, the ebb tide setting against us, we dropped anchor. At nine we weighed, and turned up the bay with light airs, and the boats still ahead till one ; when, by the help of a fresh breeze, we anchored before three in the afternoon in the harbour of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, with our ensign half staff up, on account of our carrying the body of our late captain, and were soon after followed by the *Discovery*.

We had no sooner anchored than our old friend the serjeant, who was still the commander of the place, came on board with a present of berries intended for our poor deceased captain. He was exceedingly affected when we told him of his death, and shewed him the coffin that contained his body. And as it was Captain Clerke's particular request to be buried on shore, and, if possible, in the church of Paratounca, we took the present opportunity of explaining this matter to the serjeant, and consulting with him about the proper steps to be taken on the occasion. In the course of our conversation, which, for want of an interpreter, was carried on but imperfectly, we learned that professor De L'Isle, and several Russian gentlemen who died here, had been buried in the ground near the barracks at the ostrog of St. Peter and St. Paul's ; and that this place would be preferable to Paratounca, as the church was to be removed thither the next year. It was therefore determined that we should wait for the arrival of the priest of Paratounca, whom the serjeant advised us to send for, as the only person that could satisfy our inquiries on this subject. The serjeant having, at the same time, signified his intention of sending off an express to the commander at Bolchoretsk, to acquaint him with our arrival, Capt. Gore availed himself of that occasion of writing him a letter, in which he requested that sixteen head of black cattle might be sent with all possible expedition. And because

the commander did not understand any language except his own, the nature of our request was made known to the serjeant, who readily undertook to send, along with our letter, an explanation of its contents.

We could not help remarking that, although the country was much improved in its appearance since we were last here, the Russians looked, if possible, worse now than they did then. It is to be owned, they observed, that this was also the case with us ; and, as neither party seemed to like to be told of their bad looks, we found mutual consolation in throwing the blame upon the country, whose green, and lively complexion, we agreed, cast a deadness and sallowness upon our own.

The eruption of the volcano, which was so violent when we sailed out of the bay, we found had done no damage here, notwithstanding stones had fallen at the ostrog of the size of a goose's egg. This was all the news we had to enquire after, and all they had to tell ; excepting that of the arrival of Soposnikoff from Oonalashka, who took charge of the packet Capt. Cook had sent to the Admiralty, and which, it gave us much satisfaction to find, had been forwarded.

In the morning of the 25th, Capt. Gore made out the new commissions, in consequence of Capt. Clerk's death, appointing himself to the command of the *Resolution*, and me to the command of the *Discovery* ; and Mr. Lanyan, master's mate of the *Resolution*, who had served in that capacity on board the *Adventure* in the former voyage, was promoted to the vacant lieutenantancy. These promotions produced the following farther arrangements ; Lieutenants Burney and Rickman were removed from the *Discovery* to be first and second lieutenants of the *Resolution* ; and Lieutenant Williamson was appointed first lieutenant of the *Discovery*. Capt. Gore also permitted me to take into the *Discovery* four midshipmen, who had made themselves useful to me in astronomical calculations, and whose assistance was now particularly necessary, as we had no ephemeris for the present year. And, that astronomical observations might continue to be made in both ships, Mr.

Bayly took my place in the Resolution. The same day we were visited by the Pope Romanoff Vereshagen, the worthy priest of Paratounca. He expressed his sorrow at the death of Capt. Clerke in a manner that did honour to his feelings, and confirmed the account given by the serjeant respecting the intended removal of the church to the harbour, adding, that the timber was actually preparing, but leaving the choice of either place entirely to Capt. Gore.

The Discovery, as has been mentioned, had suffered great damage from the ice, particularly on the 23d day of July; and having ever since been exceedingly leaky, it was imagined that some of her timbers had started. Capt. Gore therefore sent the carpenters of the Resolution to assist our own in repairing her; and, accordingly, the fore-hold being cleared, to lighten her forward, they were set to work, to rip the damaged sheathing from the larboard bow. This operation discovered, that three feet of the third strake, under the wale, were staved, and the timbers within started. A tent was next erected for the accommodation of such of our people as were employed on shore; and a party were sent a mile into the country, to the northward of the harbour, to fell timber. The observatories were erected at the west end of the village, near a tent in which Capt. Gore and myself took up our abode.

The farther we proceeded in removing the sheathing, the more we discovered of the decayed state of the ship's hull. The next morning eight feet of a plank in the wale were found to be so exceedingly rotten, as to make it necessary to shift it. This left us for some time at a stand, as nothing was to be found in either ship wherewith to replace it, unless we chose to cut up a top-mast, an expedient not to be had recourse to, till all others failed. The carpenters were therefore sent on shore in the afternoon in search of a tree big enough for that purpose. Luckily they found a birch, which I believe was the only one of sufficient size in the whole neighbourhood of the bay, and which had been sawed down by us when we were last here; so that it had the advantage of having lain some time to season.

This was shaped on the spot, and brought on board the next morning.

As the season was now far advanced, I was fearful lest any delay or hindrance should arise, on our parts, to Capt. Gore's farther views of discovery, and therefore gave orders that no more sheathing should be ripped off than was absolutely necessary for repairing the damages sustained by the ice. This I did, being apprehensive of their meeting with more decayed planks, which, I judged, had much better remain in that state, than be filled up with green birch, upon a supposition that such was to be had. All hands were at present busily employed in separate duties, that every thing might be in readiness for sea against the time our carpenters should have finished their work. We set apart four men to haul the seine for salmon, which were caught in great abundance, and found to be of an excellent quality. After supplying the immediate wants of both ships, we salted down near a hogshead a-day. The invalids, who were four in number, were employed in gathering greens, and in cooking for the parties on shore. Our powder was also landed, in order to be dried; and the sea-horse blubber, with which both ships, in our passage to the north (as has been before related), had stored themselves, was now boiled down for oil, which was become a necessary article, our candles having long since been expended. The cooper was fully engaged in his department: and in this manner were both ships' companies employed in their several occupations, till Saturday afternoon, which was given up to all our men, except the carpenters, for the purpose of washing their linen, and getting their clothes in some little order, that they might make a decent appearance on Sunday.

In the afternoon of that day we paid the last offices to Capt. Clerke. The officers and men of both ships walked in procession to the grave, whilst the ships fired minute-guns; and the service being ended, the marines fired three volleys. He was interred under a tree which stands on rising ground, in the valley to the north side of the harbour, where the hospital and store-houses are situated; Capt. Gore having judged this



situation most agreeable to the last wishes of the deceased, for the reasons above-mentioned; and the priest of Paratounca having pointed out a spot for his grave, which, he said, would be, as near as he could guess, in the centre of the new church. This reverend pastor walked in the procession along with the gentlemen who read the service; and all the Russians in the garrison were assembled, and attended with great respect and solemnity.

On the 30th, the different parties returned to their respective employments, as mentioned in the course of the preceding week; and on the 2nd of September, the carpenters having shifted the rotten and damaged planks, and repaired and caulked the sheathing of the larboard bow, proceeded to rip off the sheathing that had been injured by the ice, from the starboard side. Here again they discovered four feet of a plank, in the third strake under the wale, so shaken, as to make it necessary to be replaced. This was accordingly done, and the sheathing repaired on the 3d. In the afternoon of the same day, we got on board some ballast, unhung the rudder, and sent it on shore, the lead of the pintles being found entirely worn away, and a great part of the sheathing rubbed off. As the carpenters of the *Resolution* were not yet wanted, we got this set to rights the next day, but finding the rudder out of all proportion heavy, even heavier than that of the *Resolution*, we let it remain on shore in order to dry and lighten.

The same day an ensign arrived from Bolcheretsk with a letter from the commander to Capt. Gore, which we put into the serjeant's hands, and, by his assistance, were made to understand, that orders had been given about the cattle; and that they might be expected here in the course of a few days; and, moreover, that Capt. Shmaleff, the present commander, would himself pay us a visit immediately on the arrival of a sloop which was daily expected from Okotzk. The young officer who brought the letter was the son of the Capt. Lieutenant Synd, who commanded an expedition on discovery, between Asia and America, eleven years ago, and resided at this

time at Okotzk. He informed us, that he was sent to receive our directions, and to take care to get us supplied with whatever our service might require; and that he should remain with us till the commander was himself able to leave Bolcheretsk; after which he was to return, that the garrison there might not be left without an officer.

On the 5th, the parties that were on shore returned on board, and were employed in scrubbing the ship's bottom and getting in eight tons of shingle ballast. We also got up two of our guns, that had been stowed in the fore-hold and mounted them on the deck, being now about to visit nations, our reception amongst whom might a good deal depend on the respectability of our appearance.

The Resolution hauled on shore on the 8th, to repair some damage which she had received among the ice, in her cut-water, and our carpenters, in their turn, were sent to her assistance.

About this time we began to brew a strong decoction of a species of dwarf-pine that grows here in great abundance, thinking that it might hereafter be useful in making beer, and that we should probably be able to procure sugar or molasses to ferment with it at Canton. At all events I was sure it would be serviceable as a medicine for the scurvy; and was more particularly desirous of supplying myself with as much of it as I could procure, because most of the preventatives we had brought out were either used, or spoiled by keeping. By the time we had prepared a hogshead of it, the ship's copper was discovered to be very thin, and cracked in many places. This obliged me to desist, and to give orders that it should be used as sparingly for the future as possible. It might, perhaps, be an useful precaution for those who may hereafter be engaged in long voyages of this kind, either to provide themselves with a spare copper, or to see that the copper usually furnished be of the strongest kind. The various extra-services, in which it will be found necessary to employ them, and especially

the important one of making antiscorbutic decoctions, seem absolutely to require some such provision ; and I should rather recommend the former, on account of the additional quantity of fuel that would be consumed in heating thick coppers.

In the morning of the 10th, the boats from both ships were sent to tow into the harbour a Russian galliot from Okotzk. She had been thirty-five days on her passage, and had been seen from the light house a fortnight ago, beating up towards the mouth of the bay. At that time the crew had sent their only boat on shore for water, of which they now began to be in great want ; and the wind afterwards freshening, the boat was lost on its return, and the galliot, being driven out to sea again, had suffered exceedingly.

There were fifty soldiers in her, with their wives and children, and several other passengers, besides the crew, which consisted of twenty-five ; so that they had upwards of an hundred souls on board. A great number for a vessel of eighty tons ; and that was also heavy laden with stores and provisions. Both this galliot, and the sloop we saw here in May, are built like the Dutch doggers. Soon after she had come to anchor, we received a visit from a pul-parouchick, or sub-lieutenant, who was a passenger in the galliot, and sent to take the command of this place. Part of the soldiers, we understood, were also designed to reinforce the garrison ; and two pieces of small cannon were landed, as an additional defence to the town. It should seem, from these circumstances, that our visit here had drawn the attention of the Russian commanders in Siberia, to the defenceless situation of the place ; and I was told by the honest serjeant, with many significant shrugs, that, as we had found our way into it, other nations might do the same, some of whom might not be altogether so welcome.

Next morning the Resolution hauled off from the shore,

having repaired the damages she had sustained by the ice ; and, in the course of the day, we got from the galliot a small quantity of pitch, tar, cordage, and twine ; canvas was the only thing we asked for, with which their scanty store did not put it into their power to supply us. We also received from her an hundred and forty skins of flour, amounting to 13,782 pounds English, after deducting five pounds for the weight of each bag.

We had a constant course of dry weather till this day, when there came on a heavy rain accompanied with strong squalls of wind, which obliged us to strike our yards and topmasts.

The 12th, being Sunday, was kept as a day of rest ; but the weather unfortunately continuing foul, our men could not derive the advantage from it we wished, by gathering berries that grew in great quantities and varieties on the coast ; and taking other pastime on shore. The same day Ensign Synd left us to return to Bolcheretsk with the remainder of the soldiers that came in the galliot. He had been our constant guest during his stay. Indeed we could not but consider him, on his father's account, as in some measure belonging to us, and entitled, as one of the family of discoverers, to a share in our affections.

We had hitherto admitted the serjeant to our tables, in consideration of his being commander of the place ; and, moreover, because he was a quick, sensible man, and comprehended better than any other, the few Russian words we had learned. Ensign Synd had very politely suffered him to enjoy the same privileges during his stay ; but, on the arrival of the new commander from Okotzk, the serjeant, for some cause or other, which we could not learn, fell into disgrace, and was no longer suffered to sit down in the company of his own officers. It was in vain to think of making any attempt to obtain an indulgence, which, though it would have been highly agreeable to us, was doubtless incompatible with their discipline.

On Wednesday we had finished the stowage of the holds; got on board all our wood and water; and were ready to put to sea at a day's notice. It is however necessary to observe, that though every thing was in this degree of readiness on board, the cattle were not yet arrived from Verchnei; and as fresh provisions were the most important article of our wants, and in a great measure necessary for the health of the men, we could not think of taking our departure without them. We therefore thought this a favourable opportunity (especially as there was an appearance of fine weather,) of taking some amusement on shore, and acquiring a little knowledge of the country. Accordingly Capt. Gore proposed a party of bear-hunting, which we all very readily came to.

We did not set out on the expedition till Friday the 17th, in order to give a day's rest to the Hospodin Ivaskin, a new acquaintance, that was to be of our party, and who came down here on Wednesday. This gentleman, who, we understood, usually resides at Verchnei, had been desired by Major Behm to attend us on our return to the harbour, in order to be our interpreter; and the accounts we had heard of him before his arrival, had excited in us a great curiosity to see him.

He is of a considerable family in Russia. His father was a general in the empress's service; and he himself, after having received his education partly in France, and partly in Germany, had been page to the Empress Elizabeth and an ensign in her guards. At the age of sixteen he was knowted, had his nose slit, and was banished first to Siberia, and afterwards to Kamtschatka, where he had now lived thirty-one years. He was a very tall thin man, with a face all over furrowed with deep wrinkles; and bore in his whole figure the strongest marks of old age, though he had scarcely reached his fifty-fourth year.

To our very great disappointment he had so totally forgotten both his German and French, as not to be able to

speaking a sentence, nor readily to understand what was said to him in either of these languages. We found ourselves thus unfortunately deprived of what we flattered ourselves would have turned out a favourable opportunity of getting farther information relative to this country. We had also promised ourselves much pleasure from the history of this extraordinary man, which he probably would have been induced to relate to strangers, who might perhaps be of some little service to him, but who could have no inducement to take advantage from any thing he might say to do him an injury. No one here knew the cause of his banishment, but they took it for granted that it must have been for something very atrocious, particularly as two or three commanders of Kamtschatka have endeavoured to get him recalled since the present empress's reign; but far from succeeding in this, they have not been even able to get the place of his banishment changed. He told us that for twenty years he had not tasted bread, nor had been allowed subsistence of any kind whatever; but that during this period he had lived among the Kamtschadales on what his own activity and toil in the chase had furnished. That afterward he had a small pension granted; and that, since Major Behm came to the command, his situation had been infinitely mended. The notice that worthy man had taken of him, and of his having often invited him to become his guest, had been the occasion of others following his example; besides which, he had been the means of getting his pension increased to one hundred roubles a year, which is the common pay of an ensign in all parts of the empress's dominions, except in this province, where the pay of all the officers is double. Major Behm told us that he had obtained permission to take him to Okotsk, which was to be the place of his residence in future; but that he should leave him behind for the present, on an idea that he might, on our return to the bay, be useful to us as an interpreter.

Having given orders to the first lieutenants of both ships,



to let the rigging have such a repair as the supply of stores we had lately received would permit, we set out on our hunting party, under the direction of the corporal of the Kamtschadales, intending, before we attempted to look for our game, to proceed straight to the head of Behm's Harbour. It is an inlet on the west side of the bay (which we had named after that officer, from its being a favourite place of his, and having been surveyed by himself), and is called by the natives Tareinska.

In our way toward this harbour we met the Toion of Saint Peter and Saint Paul in a canoe, with his wife and two children, and another Kamtschadale. He had killed two seals upon a round island, that lies in the entrance of the harbour, with which, and a great quantity of berries that he had gathered, he was returning home. As the wind had veered to the south-west, we had now changed our route by his advice; and, instead of going up the harbour, directed our course to the northward, toward a pool of water that lies near the mouth of the river Paratounca, and which was a known haunt of the bears. We had scarce landed, when unfortunately the wind changed to the eastward, and a second time destroyed all hopes of coming up with the game; for the Kamtschadales assured us, that it was in vain to expect to meet with bears, whilst we were to the windward, owing to their being possessed of an uncommon acuteness in scenting their pursuers, which enabled them, under such circumstances, to avoid the danger, whilst it is yet at a very great distance. We returned therefore to the boat, and passed the night on the beach, having brought a tent with us for that purpose, and the next day, by the advice of our guides, crossed the bay, and went to the head of Rakoweena Harbour.

Having here secured the boats, we proceeded with all our luggage on foot, and, after a walk of five or six miles, came to the sea-side, a league to the northward of the light-house head. From hence, as far as we could see

toward Cheepoonskoi Noss, there is a continued narrow border of low level ground adjoining to the sea, which is covered with heath, and produces great abundance of berries, particularly those called partridge and crow berries. We were told we should not fail to meet with a number of bears feeding upon those berries; but that the weather being showery, was unfavourable for us.

Accordingly we directed our course along this plain, and, though we saw several bears at a distance, we could never, with all our management, contrive to get within shot of them. Our diversion was therefore changed to spearing of salmon, which we saw pushing in great numbers through the surf into a small river. I could not help observing how much inferior the Kamtschadales were, at this method of fishing, to the people of Oonalashka; nor were their instruments, although pointed with iron, near so good for the purpose, nor to be compared in neatness to those of the Americans, though pointed only with bone. On inquiring into the reason of this inferiority, I was informed by the corporal, that formerly the Kamtschadales made use of the same kind of darts and spears with the Americans, headed and barbed with bone, and were not less dexterous in the management of them than the latter. We could not understand one another sufficiently for me to learn the cause of this change; probably it was one of the not unusual effects of a forced and imperfect state of improvement. It fell out very opportunely that the water afforded us a little prey; for, besides our ill success in the chase by land, we had also been disappointed in our expectations of shooting wild fowl, on a supply of which we had in some measure depended for our subsistence; and on our failure, began to think that we had been full long absent from head quarters.

Our Kamtschadales now discovered that the want of success in not meeting with game, was owing to the party being too large, and to the unavoidable noise that was the consequence of it. We therefore agreed to separate, Ivaskin,

the corporal, and myself forming one party, Capt. Gore, and the rest of the company the other.

Accordingly, after passing the night under our tent, we set out on the morning of the 19th, by different routes, meaning to take a circuit round the country, and meet at Saint Peter and Saint Paul. The party to which I belonged took the course of the river, at the mouth of which we had fished for the salmon; and, after being thoroughly soaked by the heavy rains that fell all the morning, we came to some old balagans, where a Kamtschadale village had been formerly situated, without meeting with a single bear during the whole of a long and tedious walk. It was our first intention to have remained here all night, in order to have resumed our chase early the next morning; but the weather clearing, and at the same time a fresh breeze springing up from a quarter unfavourable to our designs, the Hospodin, whom former sufferings had made very unfit to bear much fatigue, and who seemed at present more distressed from having emptied his snuff-box, began to be very importunate with us to return home. It was some time before the corporal consented, alleging, that we were at a great distance from the harbour, and that, on account of the badness of the way, the night would probably overtake us before we reached the end of our journey. At length, however, he yielded to Ivaskin's entreaties, and conducted us along the side of a number of small lakes, with which the flat part of this country seems much to abound. These lakes are from half a mile to two miles in length, and about half a mile broad; the water is fresh and clear, and they are full of a red-coloured fish, resembling, both in shape and size, a small salmon; of which a more particular description will be given hereafter. The banks of these lakes were covered with the fragments of fish that the bears had half eaten, and which caused an intolerable stench. We often came upon the spots which the bears had just left, but were never able to come within sight of them.

It was night before we reached the ships, and we had then been twelve hours upon our legs. Poor Ivaskin found himself exceedingly tired and overcome with fatigue; probably he was more sensible of it for want of a supply of snuff; for every step he took his hand dived mechanically into his pocket, and drew out his huge empty box. We had scarcely got into the tent, when the weather set in exceedingly rough and wet. We congratulated ourselves that we had not staid out another day, the Hospodin's box was replenished, and we forgot the fatigues and ill success of our expedition over a good supper.

I was exceedingly sorry, on being told the next day, that our friend the serjeant had undergone corporal punishment during our absence, by command of the old Putparouchick. None of our people had been able to learn the cause of his displeasure, but it was imagined to have arisen from some little jealousy subsisting between them, on account of the civility which we had shewn to the former. However, having every reason to believe that the offence, whatever it might be, did not call for so disgraceful a chastisement, we could not help being both sorry and much provoked at it, as the terms on which we had lived with him, and the interest we were known to take in his affairs, made the affront in some measure personal to ourselves; for it has not yet been mentioned that we had consulted with the late worthy commander, Behm, who was also his friend, by what means we might be most likely to succeed in doing him some service for the good order he had kept in the ostrog during our stay, and for his readiness on all occasions to oblige us. The major advised a letter of recommendation to the governor-general, which Capt. Clerke had accordingly given him, and which, backed with his own representations, he had no doubt would get the serjeant advanced a step higher in his profession.

We did not choose to make any remonstrance on this subject till the arrival of Capt. Shmaleff. Indeed our ina-

bility, from the want of language to enter into any discussion upon the business, made it advisable to come to this determination. However, when the Putparouchick paid us his next visit, we could not help testifying our chagrin by receiving him very coolly.

The 22nd being the anniversary of his majesty's coronation, twenty-one guns were fired, and the handsomest feast our situation would allow of, was prepared, in honour of the day. As we were sitting down to dinner, the arrival of Capt. Shmaleff was announced. This was a most agreeable surprise, in the first place, because he arrived so opportunely to partake of the good fare and festivity of the occasion; and, in the next, because in our last accounts of him, we were given to understand that the effects of a severe illness had made him unequal to the journey. We were glad to find this had been merely an excuse; that, in fact, he was ashamed to come empty-handed, knowing that we must be in great want of tea, sugar, &c. &c.; and that therefore he had deferred his setting out, in daily expectation of the sloop from Okotzk; but having no tidings of her, and dreading lest we should sail, without his having paid us a visit, he was determined to set out, though with nothing better to present to us than apologies for the poverty of Bolcheretsk. At the same time he acquainted us, that our not having received the sixteen head of black cattle we had desired might be sent down, was owing to the very heavy rains at Verchnei, which had prevented their setting out. We made the best answer we were able to so much politeness and generosity; and the next day, on coming on board the *Resolution*, he was saluted with eleven guns. Specimens of all our curiosities were presented to him, and Capt. Gore added to them a gold watch and a fowling-piece.

The next day he was entertained on board the *Discovery*, and on the 25th he took leave of us to return to Bolcheretsk. He could not be prevailed on to lengthen his visit, having some expectations, as he told us, that the sub governor-

general, who was at this time making a tour through all the provinces of the Governor-General of Jakutzk, might arrive in the sloop that was daily expected from Okotzk. Before his departure, and without any interference of ours, he reinstated the serjeant in the command of this place, having determined to take the Putparouchick along with him; at the same time we understood that he was highly displeased with him on account of the punishment that had been inflicted on the serjeant, and for which there did not appear to be the slightest grounds.

Capt. Shmaleff's great readiness to give us every possible proof of his desire to oblige us, encouraged us to ask a small favour for another of our Kamtschadale friends. It was to requite an old soldier, whose house had been at all times open to the inferior officers, and who had done both them and all the crew a thousand good offices. The captain most obligingly complied with our request, and dubbed him (which was all he wished for) a corporal upon the spot, and ordered him to thank the English officers for his great promotion. It may not here be improper to observe, that in the Russian army the inferior class of officers enjoy a degree of pre-eminence above the private men, with which we, in our service, are in a great measure unacquainted. It was no small astonishment to us, to see a serjeant keep up all the state, and exact all the respect from all beneath him, belonging to a field officer. It may be further remarked, that there are many more gradations of rank amongst them, than are to be met with in other countries. Between a serjeant and a private man, there are not less than four intermediate steps; and I have no doubt but that the advantages arising from this system are found to be very considerable. The salutary effects of little subordinate ranks in our sea-service cannot be questioned. It gives rise to great emulation, and the superior officers are enabled to bestow, on almost every possible degree of merit, a reward proportioned to it.

Having been incidentally led into this subject, I shall beg



leave to add but one observation more, namely, that the discipline of the Russian army, though at this distance from the seat of government, is of the strictest and severest kind; from which even the commissioned officers are not exempt. The punishment of the latter for small offences is imprisonment, and a bread and water diet. An ensign, a good friend of ours at this place, told us, that for having been concerned in a drunken riot, he was confined in the black hole for three months, and fed upon bread and water; which, he said, so shattered his nerves, that he had never since had spirits for a common convivial meeting.

I accompanied Capt. Shmaleff to the entrance of Awatska River, and having bid him farewell, took this opportunity of paying a visit to the priest of Paratounca. On Sunday the 26th, I attended him to church. The congregation consisted of his own family, three Kamtschadale men, and three boys, who assisted in singing part of the service; the whole of which was performed in a very solemn and edifying manner. The church is of wood, and by far the best building either in this town or that of Saint Peter and Saint Paul. It is ornamented with many paintings, particularly with two of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, presented by Beering; and which, in the real richness of their drapery, would carry off the prize from the first of our European performances; for all the principal parts of it are made of thick plates of solid silver, fastened to the canvass, and fashioned into the various foldings of the robes with which the figures were clothed.

The next day, I set on foot another hunting party, and put myself under the direction of the clerk of the parish, who was a celebrated bear-hunter. We arrived by sun-set, at the side of one of the larger lakes. The next step was to conceal ourselves as much as possible; and this we were able to do very effectually, among some long grass and brush-wood, that grew close to the water's edge. We had not lain long in ambush, before we had the pleasure to hear

the growlings of bears in different parts round about us ; and our expectations were soon gratified, by the sight of one of them in the water, which seemed to be swimming directly to the place where we lay hid. The moon, at this time, gave a considerable light ; and when the animal had advanced about fifteen yards, three of us fired at it, pretty nearly at the same time. The beast immediately turned short on one side, and set up a noise, which could not properly be called roaring, nor growling, nor yelling, but was a mixture of all three, and horrible beyond description. We plainly saw that it was severely wounded, and that with difficulty it gained the bank, and retreated to some thick bushes at a little distance. It still continued to make the same loud and terrible noise ; and though the Kamtschadales were persuaded it was mortally wounded, and could get no farther, yet they thought it most adviseable not to rouse it again for the present. It was, at this time, past nine o'clock ; and the night becoming overcast, and threatening a change of weather, we thought it most prudent to return home, and defer the gratification of our curiosity till morning, when we returned to the spot, and found the bear dead in the place to which it had been watched. It proved to be a female, and beyond the common size.

As the account of our first hunting party will be apt to give the reader a wrong idea of the method in which this sport is usually conducted ; it may not be amiss to add a few more words on the subject ; and which I am better able to do since this last expedition.

When the natives come to the ground frequented by the bears, which they contrive to reach about sun-set, the first step is to look for their tracks, to examine which are the freshest, and the best situated with a view to concealment, and taking aim at the beast, either as he is passing by, or advancing in front, or going from them. These tracks are found in the greatest numbers, leading from the woods down to the lakes, and among the long sedgy grass and brakes by the

edge of the water. The place of ambuscade being determined upon, the hunters next fix in the ground the crutches, upon which their firelocks are made to rest, pointing them in the direction they mean to make their shot. This done, they kneel or lie down, as the circumstances of the cover require; and, with their bear-spears by their side, wait for their game. These precautions, which are chiefly taken in order to make sure of their mark, are, on several accounts, highly expedient. For, in the first place, ammunition is so dear at Kamtschatka, that the price of a bear will not purchase more of it than is sufficient to load a musquet four or five times; and what is more material, if the bear be not rendered incapable of pursuit by the first shot, the consequences are often fatal. He immediately makes towards the place from whence the noise and smoke issue, and attacks his adversaries with great fury. It is impossible for them to reload, as the animal is seldom at more than twelve or fifteen yards distance, when he is fired at: so that if he does not fall, they immediately put themselves in a posture to receive him upon their spears; and their safety greatly depends on their giving him a mortal stab, as he first comes upon them. If he parries the thrust (which, by the extraordinary strength and agility of their paws, they are often enabled to do), and thereby breaks in upon his adversaries, the conflict becomes very unequal, and it is well if the life of one of the party alone suffice to pay the forfeit.

There are two seasons of the year when this diversion, or occupation, as it may be rather called, is more particularly dangerous: in the spring, when the bears first come forth, after having subsisted, as is universally asserted here, on sucking their paws through the winter, and especially if the frost happen to be severe, and the ice not to be broken up in the lake at that time, by which means they are deprived of their ordinary and expected food. Under these circumstances, they soon become exceedingly famished,

and fierce in proportion. They will pursue the natives by the scent; and, as they now prowling about out of their usual tracks, frequently come upon them unawares; and when this happens, as the Kamtschadales have not the smallest notion of shooting flying, nor even at an animal running, or in any way except with their piece on a rest, the bear-hunters often fall a sacrifice to their hunger. The other season in which it is dangerous to come in their way, is at the time of their copulation, which is generally about this time of the year.

An extraordinary instance of natural affection in these animals hath been already mentioned. The chase affords a variety of a similar nature, and not less affecting, many of which were related to me. The Kamtschadales derive great advantage in hunting, from this circumstance. They never venture to fire upon a young bear, when the mother is near: for, if the cub drop, she becomes enraged to a degree little short of madness; and if she gets sight of the enemy, will only quit her revenge with her life. On the contrary, if the dam be shot, the cub will not leave her side, even after she has been dead a long time, but continues about her, shewing, by a variety of affecting actions and gestures, marks of the deepest affliction, and thus becomes an easy prey to the hunter.

Nor is the sagacity of the bears, if the Kamtschadales are to be credited, less extraordinary, or less worthy to be remarked than their natural affection. Of this they have a thousand different stories to relate. I shall content myself with mentioning one instance which the natives speak of as a well known fact, and that is, the stratagem they have recourse to in order to catch the harems, which are considerably too swift of foot for them. These animals keep together in large herds; they frequent mostly the low grounds, and love to browse at the feet of rocks and precipices. The bear hunts them by scent, till he comes in sight, when he advances warily, keeping above them, and con-

cealing himself among the rocks, as he makes his approaches, till he gets immediately over them, and nigh enough for his purpose. He then begins to push down with his paws pieces of rock amongst the herd below. This manœuvre is not followed by any attempt to pursue, until he finds he has maimed one of the flock, upon which a course immediately ensues, that proves successful, or otherwise, according to the hurt the barein has received.

I cannot conclude this digression without observing, that the Kamtschadales very thankfully acknowledge their obligations to the bears for what little advancement they have hitherto made either in the sciences or polite arts. They confess that they owe to them all their skill both in physio and surgery ; that by remarking with what herbs these animals rub the wounds they have received, and what they have recourse to when sick and languid, they have become acquainted with most of the simples in use among them, either in the way of internal medicine, or external application. But what will appear somewhat more singular is, they acknowledge the bears likewise for their dancing-masters. Indeed the evidence of our senses put this out of dispute ; for the bear-dance of the Kamtschadales is an exact counterpart of every attitude and gesture peculiar to this animal, through its various functions ; and this is the foundation and ground-work of all their other dances, and what they value themselves most upon.

I returned to the ships on the 28th, very well pleased with my excursion, as it had afforded me an opportunity of seeing a little more of the country, and of observing the manners and behaviour of the Kamtschadales, when freed from that constraint which they evidently lie under in the company of the Russians.

No occurrence worth mentioning took place till the 30th, when Capt. Gore went to Paratounca, to put up in the church there an escutcheon, prepared by Mr. Webber, with an inscription upon it, setting forth Capt. Clerke's age and rank,

and the object of the expedition in which he was engaged at the time of his decease. We also affixed to the tree under which he was buried, a board, with an inscription upon it to the same effect.

Before his departure Capt. Gore left orders with me to get the ships out of the harbour into the bay, to be in readiness to sail. We were prevented from doing this by a violent gale of wind, which lasted the whole day of the 1st of October. However on the 2nd both ships warped out of the harbour, clear of the narrow passage, and came to anchor in seven fathoms, a quarter of a mile from the ostrog.

The day before we went out of the harbour the cattle arrived from Verchnei; and, that the men might receive the full benefit of this capital and much longed-for supply, by consuming it fresh, Capt. Gore came to a determination of staying five or six days longer. Nor was this time idly employed. The boats, pumps, sails, and rigging of both ships, thereby received an additional repair. And Capt. Gore sparing me some molasses, and the use of the Resolution's copper, I was enabled to brew a fortnight's beer for the crew, and to make a farther provision of ten puncheons of strong spruce essence. The present supply was the more acceptable, as our last cask of spirits, except a small quantity left in reserve for cases of necessity, was now serving out.

The 3rd was the name-day of the empress, and we could want no inducement to shew it every possible respect. Accordingly Capt. Gore invited the priest of Paratounca, Ivas-kin, and the serjeant to dinner, and an entertainment was also provided for the inferior officers of the garrison, for the two Toions of Paratounca and Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and for the other better sort of Kamtschadale inhabitants. The rest of the natives of every description were invited to partake with the ships companies, who had a pound of good fat beef served out to each man; and what remained of our spirits was made into grog, and divided amongst them. A



salute of twenty-one guns was fired at the usual hour; and the whole was conducted (considering the part of her dominions it was in) in a manner not unworthy so renowned and magnificent an empress.

On the 5th we received from Bolcheretsk a fresh supply of tea, sugar, and tobacco. This present had met Capt. Shmaleff on his return, and was accompanied by a letter from him, in which he informed us that the sloop from Okotzk had arrived during his absence, and that Madame Shmaleff, who was entirely in our interests, had lost no time in dispatching a courier with the few presents, of which our acceptance was requested.

The appearance of foul weather on the 6th and 7th, prevented our unmooring, but on the morning of the 8th, we sailed out toward the mouth of the bay, and hoisted in all the boats, when the wind, veering to the southward, stopped our farther progress, and obliged us to drop anchor in ten fathoms; the ostrog bearing due north, half a league distant.

The weather being foggy, and the wind from the same quarter during the forenoon of the 9th, we continued in our station. At four in the afternoon we again unmoored; but whilst we were with great difficulty weighing our last anchor, I was told that the drummer of the marines had left the boat which had just returned from the village, and that he was last seen with a Kamtschadale woman, to whom his messmates knew he had been much attached, and who had often been observed persuading him to stay behind. Though this man had been long useless to us, from a swelling in his knee which rendered him lame, yet this made me the more unwilling he should be left behind, to become a miserable burthen both to the Russians and himself. I therefore got the serjeant to send parties of soldiers, in different directions, in search of him, whilst some of our sailors went to a well known haunt of his in the neighbourhood, where they found him with his woman. On the return of this party

with our deserter, we weighed, and followed the Resolution out of the bay.

The entrance into Awatska Bay lies in the bight of another exterior bay, formed by Cheepoonskoi Noss, to the north, and Cape Gavareea to the south. The former of these head-lands bears from the latter north-east by north three quarters east, and is distant thirty-two leagues. The coast from Cape Gavareea to the entrance of Awatska Bay, takes a direction nearly north, and is eleven leagues in extent. It consists of a chain of high ragged cliffs, with detached rocks frequently lying off them. This coast at a distance presents in many parts an appearance of bays or inlets, but on a nearer approach the head-lands were found connected by low ground.

Cheepoonskoi Noss bears from the entrance of the bay, east-north-east a quarter east, and is twenty-five leagues distant. On this side the shore is low and flat, with hills rising behind to a considerable height. In the latitude of Cape Gavareea there is an error of twenty-one miles in the Russian charts, its true latitude being  $52^{\circ} 21'$ .

This striking difference of the land on each side Awatska Bay, with their different bearings, are the best guides to steer for it in coming from the southward; and, in approaching it from the northward, Cheepoonskoi Noss will make itself very conspicuous, for it is a high projecting head-land, with considerable extent of level ground lower than the Noss, uniting it to the continent. It presents the same appearance, whether viewed from the north or south, and will warn the mariner not to be deceived in imagining Awatska Bay to lie in the bight which the coast forms to the northward of this Noss, and which might be the case from the striking resemblance there is between a conical hill within this bight or bay, and one to the south of Awatska Bay.

I have been thus particular in giving a minute description of this coast, from our own experience of the want of it. For had we been furnished with a tolerable account of the form of the coast on each side of Awatska Bay, we should, on our first

arrival upon it, have got safely within the bay two days before we did, and thereby have avoided part of the stormy weather which came on when we were plying off the mouth of the harbour. Besides, from the prevalence of fogs in these seas, it must frequently happen that an observation for ascertaining the latitude cannot be got; to which we may add, that the deceptive appearances land makes when covered with snow, and when viewed through an hazy atmosphere, both which circumstances prevail here during the greatest part of the year, render the knowledge of a variety of discriminating objects the more necessary.

Should however the weather be clear enough to admit a view of the mountains on the coast in its neighbourhood, these will serve to point out the situation of Awatska Bay, with a great deal of precision. For to the south of it are two high mountains: that which is nearest the bay, is shaped like a sugar-loaf; the other, which is farther inland, does not appear so high, and is flat at the top. To the north of the bay, are three very conspicuous mountains; the westernmost is, to appearance, the highest; the next is the volcano mountain, which may be known from the smoke that issues from its top, and likewise from some high table-hills connected with it, and stretching to the northward; these two are somewhat peaked. The third, and the most northerly, might perhaps be more properly called a cluster of mountains, as it presents to the sight several flat tops.

When the navigator has got within the capes, and into the outward bay, a perpendicular head-land, with a light-house erected upon it, will point out the entrance of the bay of Awatska to the northward. To the eastward of this head-land lie many sunken rocks, stretching into the sea, to the distance of two or three miles; and which will shew themselves, if there be but a moderate sea or swell. Four miles to the south of the entrance lies a small round island, very distinguishable from being principally composed of high pointed rocks, with

one of them strikingly remarkable, as being much larger, and more peaked and perpendicular than the rest.

It is no way necessary to be equally particular in the description of the bay itself, as of its approaches and environs; since no words can give the mariner a perfect idea of it. It will appear, that the entrance is at first near three miles wide, and the narrowest part one mile and a half, and four miles long, in a north-north-west direction. Within the mouth is a noble basin of 25 miles circuit, with the capacious harbours of Tareinska to the west, of Rakoweena to the east, and the small one of St. Peter and St. Paul, where we lay, to the north.

Tareinska harbour is about three miles in breadth, and twelve in length; it stretches to the east-south-east, and is separated from the sea, at the bottom, by a narrow neck of land. The road into this harbour is perfectly free from rocks and shoals. We had never less than seven fathoms water, as far as our survey extended; for we were not able to get to the bottom of the harbour on account of the ice.

The harbour of Rakoweena would deserve the preference over the other two, if its entrance were not impeded by a shoal lying in the middle of the channel; which in general will make it necessary to warp in, unless there be a leading wind. It is from one mile to half a mile in width, and three miles long, running at first in a south-east, and afterward in an easterly direction. Its depth is from thirteen to three fathoms.

St. Peter and St. Paul's is one of the most convenient little harbours I ever saw. It will hold conveniently half a dozen ships, moored head and stern; and is fit for giving them any kind of repairs. The south side is formed by a low sandy neck, exceedingly narrow, on which the ostrog is built; and whose point may almost be touched by ships going in; having three fathoms water close in with it. In the mid channel, which is no more than two hundred and seventy-eight feet across, there are six fathoms and a half; the deepest water within is seven fathoms and a half over a very muddy bottom. We found some inconvenience from the toughness of the ground,

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which constantly broke the messenger and gave us a great deal of trouble in getting up the anchors. There is a watering-place at the head of the harbour.

Kamtschatka is the name of a peninsula situated on the eastern coast of Asia, running nearly north and south, from  $52^{\circ}$  to  $61^{\circ}$  north latitude; the longitude of its southern extremity being  $156^{\circ} 45'$  east. The isthmus, which joins it to the continent on the north, lies between the Gulf of Olutorsk and the Gulf of Penshinsk. Its southern extremity is Cape Lopatka, a word signifying the blade bone of a man, and is so called from its supposed resemblance to it. The shape of the whole peninsula is not unlike that of a shoe, widening from the toe (which we may suppose to be Cape Lopatka) toward the middle, and narrowing again toward the heel, the neck of land above mentioned connecting it with the continent. Its greatest breadth is from the mouth of the river Tigil to that of Kamtschatka, and is computed to be two hundred and thirty-six miles, from whence it narrows very gradually toward each extremity.

It is bounded on the north by the country of the Koriacks; to the south and east, by the North Pacific Ocean; and to the west, by the sea of Okotzk. A chain of high mountains stretches the whole length of the country, from north to south, dividing it nearly into two equal parts, from whence a great number of rivers take their rise, and empty themselves, on each side, into the Pacific Ocean and the sea of Okotzk.

There are three rivers of much greater magnitude than the rest; the Bolchoireka, or great river, so called from bolchoia, which signifies great, and reka, a river; the river Kamtschatka, and the Awatska. The first empties itself into the sea of Okotzk, and is navigable for the Russian galliots upwards of five leagues from its mouth, or within nine miles of Bolcheretsk, a town situated on the conflux of the Goltsoffka and the Bistraia, which here lose themselves in the Bolchoireka. The Bistraia itself is no inconsiderable river. It derives its source from the same mountain with the river Kamtschatka,

and, by taking a direct contrary course, affords the Kamtschadales the means of transporting their goods by water in small canoes, almost across the whole peninsula. The river Kamtschatka, after maintaining a course of near three hundred miles from south to north, winds round to the eastward; in which direction it empties itself into the ocean, a little to the southward of Kamtschatkoi Noss. Near the mouth of the Kamtschatka, to the north-west, lies the great lake called Nerpitsch, from *nerpi*, a Kamtschadale word, signifying a seal, with which this lake abounds. About twenty miles up the river, reckoning from the mouth of the lake, is a fort called Nishnei Kamtschatka ostrog, where the Russians have built an hospital and barracks; and which, we were informed, is become the principal mart in this country.

The river Awatska rises from the mountains situated between the Bolchireka and the Bistraia, and running, from north-west to south-east, a course of one hundred miles, falls into the bay of Awatska. The Tigil is likewise a river of considerable size, rising amidst some very high mountains, which lie under the same parallel with Kamtschatkoi Noss, and running in an even course from south-east to north-west, falls into the sea of Okotzk. All the other rivers of this peninsula, which are almost infinite in number, are too small to deserve a particular enumeration.

If I may judge of the soil, from what I saw of its vegetable productions, I should not hesitate in pronouncing it barren in the extreme. Neither in the neighbourhood of the bay, nor in the country I traversed on my journey to Bolcheretsk, nor in any of our hunting expeditions, did I ever meet with the smallest spot of ground that resembled what in England is called a good green turf; or that seemed as if it could be turned to any advantage, either in the way of pasturage, or other mode of cultivation. The face of the country in general was thinly covered with stunted trees, having a bottom of moss, mixed with low weak heath. The whole bore a more striking resemblance to Newfoundland than to any other part of the world I had ever seen.



It must however be observed, that I saw at Paratounca three or four stacks of sweet and very fine looking hay; and Major Behm informed me, that many parts of the peninsula, particularly the banks of the river Kamtschatka and the Bistraia, produce grass of great height and strength, which they cut twice in the summer; and that the hay is of a succulent quality, and particularly well adapted to the fattening of cattle. Indeed it should appear, from the size and fatness of the thirty-six head that were sent down to us from the Verchnei ostrog, and which, we were told, were bred and fattened in the neighbourhood, that they must have had the advantage of both good pastures and meadows. For it is worth our notice, that the first supply we received, consisting of twenty, came to us just at the close of the winter, and before the snow was off the ground, and therefore probably had tasted nothing but hay for the seven preceding months. And this agrees with what is related by Krascheninikoff, that there is no part of the country equal in fertility to that which borders on the river Kamtschatka; and that to the north and south it is much inferior both in point of soil and climate. He relates, that repeated experiments have been made in the culture of oats, barley, and rye, in different quarters near this river, which have generally succeeded: that, in particular, some persons belonging to the convent of Jakutsk, who had settled in that part of the country, had sown barley there, which had yielded an extraordinary increase; and he has no doubt but that wheat, in many parts, particularly near the source of the Bistraia and Kamtschatka, would grow as well as in the generality of countries situated in the same latitude. Perhaps the superior fertility of the country here spoken of may, in a great measure, be accounted for, from its lying in that part of the peninsula which is by much the widest, and consequently farthest removed from the sea, on each side. The moist chilling fogs, and drizzling weather, which prevail almost perpetually along the coast, must necessarily render the parts adjacent very unfit for all the purposes of agriculture.

It is natural to suppose, that the severity of the climate must be in proportion to the general sterility of the soil, of which it is probably the cause. The first time we saw this country was in the beginning of May 1779, when the whole face of it was covered with snow, from six to eight feet deep. On the 6th we had snow, with the wind from the north-east. On the 8th of May, at noon, the thermometer stood at  $32^{\circ}$ ; and the same day some of our men were sent on shore to try to cut wood, but the snow was still so deep on the ground, as to render all their attempts fruitless. Nor was it found practicable to proceed in this necessary business, with all the efforts of a very stout party, till the 12th, at which time the thaw began to advance gradually. The sides of the hill were now in some places free from snow; and, by the beginning of June it was generally melted from the low lands. On the 15th of June, the day we sailed out of the harbour, the thermometer had never risen higher than  $58^{\circ}$ , nor the barometer than  $30^{\circ} 4'$ . The wind blew almost invariably from the eastward during our stay, and the south-east was more prevalent than any other.

On our return, the 24th of August, the foliage of the trees, and all other sorts of vegetation, seemed to be in the utmost state of perfection. For the remainder of this month, and through September, the weather was very changeable, but in no respect severe. The winds at the beginning of the month were for the most part easterly, after which they got round to the west. The greatest height of the thermometer was  $45^{\circ}$ , the lowest  $40^{\circ}$ . The barometer's greatest height  $30^{\circ}$ ; its lowest  $29^{\circ} 3'$ . So that upon the whole, during this month, an equal and moderate degree of temperature prevailed. But at the beginning of October, the tops of the hills were again covered with new fallen-snow, the wind continuing westerly.

In computing the seasons, the spring ought certainly not to be taken into the account. From the middle of June to the middle of September, may be properly said to constitute the summer. October may be considered as an autumnal month;

from thence, to the middle of June, it is perfect winter, It was towards the end of May that we made our journey between Bolcheretsk and Awatska, over the snow in sledges.

It is said, that the climate in the country adjoining to the river Kamtschatka, is not less serene and temperate, than in many parts of Siberia that are under the same latitude. This variation is probably owing to the same causes, to which the superior fertility of the soil in those parts has been before attributed. But it is not in the sterility of the ground alone, that the Kamtschadales feel the unfavourable temperature of their climate. The uncertainty of the summer season sometimes prevents their laying up a sufficient stock of dried fish for their winter's provision, and the moisture of the air causes worms to breed in them, which not unfrequently destroy the greatest part.

I do not remember that we had either thunder or lightning during our stay, excepting on the night of the eruption of the volcano; and, from the account of the inhabitants, they are very seldom troubled with storms of this kind, and never but in a slight degree. The general severity of the winter, as well as the dreadful hurricanes of wind and snow that season brings along with it, cannot be questioned, from the subterraneous habitations the natives are under a necessity of retiring to, for warmth and security. Major Behm told us, that the cold and inclemency of the winter of 1779 was such, that for several weeks all intercourse between the inhabitants was entirely stopped, every one being afraid to stir even from one house to another, for fear of being frost-bitten. This extraordinary rigour of climate, in so low a latitude, may be accounted for from its being situated to the east of an immense uncultivated tract of country, and from the prevalence of the westerly winds, blowing over so extensive and cold a continent. This extraordinary violence and impetuosity of the winds, is attributed to the subterraneous fires, the sulphureous exhalations, and the general volcanic disposition of the country.

This peninsula abounds in volcanos, of which only three

have, for some time past, been subject to eruptions. We have already mentioned that which is situated in the neighbourhood of Awatska. Besides this, there are others not less remarkable, according to the account given of them by Krascheninikoff.

The volcano of Tolbatchick is situated on a neck of ground between the river of Kamtschatka and Tolbatchick. The mountain, from the summit of which the eruptions proceed, is of a considerable height, and terminates in pointed rocks. In the beginning of the year 1739, there issued from it a whirlwind of flames, which reduced to ashes the forests of the neighbouring mountains. This was succeeded by a cloud of smoke, which spread over and darkened the whole country, till it was dissipated by a shower of cinders, that covered the ground to the distance of thirty miles. Mr. Krascheninikoff, who was at this time on a journey from Bolchoireka to the Kamtschatka ostrog, at no great distance from the mountain, relates that the eruption was preceded by an alarming sound in the woods, which he thought the forerunner of some dreadful storm or hurricane, till three shocks of an earthquake, at about a minute's interval of each, convinced him of its real cause; but that he was hindered from approaching nearer the mountain, by the cinders that fell, and prevented him from proceeding on his journey.

The third volcano is on the top of the mountain of Kamtschatka, which is mentioned as by far the highest in the peninsula. A thick smoke never ceases to ascend from its summit, and it has frequent eruptions, of the most violent and dreadful kind; some of which were much talked of, and seemed to be fresh in the memories of the Kamtschadales.

The country is likewise said to contain numerous springs of hot water. The only one that I had an opportunity of seeing was at Natcheekekin ostrog, and hath been already described. Krascheninikoff makes mention of several others, and also of two very extraordinary pits or wells, at the bottom of which the water is seen to boil as in a cauldron, with pro-

digious force and impetuosity ; at the same time a dreadful noise issues out of them, and so thick a vapour, that a man cannot see through it.

We met with several wholesome vegetables in a wild state, and in great quantities ; such as wild celery, angelica, chervil, garlic, and onions. Upon some few patches of ground in the vallies, we found excellent turnips, and turnip-radishes. Their garden cultivation went no farther ; yet from hence I am led to conclude, that many of the hardy sorts of vegetables (such at least as push their roots downward), like as carrots, parsnips, and beet, and perhaps potatoes, would thrive tolerably well. Major Behm told me, that some other sorts of kitchen vegetables had been tried, but did not answer ; that neither any of the cabbage or lettuce kind would ever head ; and that peas and beans shot up very vigorous stalks, flowered and podded, but the pods never filled. He likewise told me, that in the experiments made by himself at Bolcheretsk, with different sorts of farinaceous grain, there generally came up a very high and strong blade, which eared, but that the ears never yielded flour.

This short account of the vegetable productions reaches to such parts of the country only as fell within our notice. In the neighbourhood of the Kamtschatka river, where (as has been observed) both the soil and climate are by much the best in the whole peninsula, garden culture is attended to, and probably with great success, as appears from our having received, at the same time with a second drove of cattle from Verchnei, a present of cucumbers, of very large fine turnips, celery, and some other garden-stuff, of which I do not recollect the kinds.

There are two plants, which, from the great use made of them, merit a particular mention and description. The first is called by the natives saranne ; and by botanists, *Lilium Kamtskatiense flore a rotubente*. The stem is about the thickness of that of the tulip, and grows to the height of

five inches, is of a purple colour toward the bottom, and green higher up, and hath growing from it two tier of leaves of an oval figure, the lower consisting of three leaves, the uppermost of four, in the form of a cross : from the top of the stalk grows a single flower, of an exceedingly dark red colour, in shape resembling the flower of the narcissus, only much smaller : from the centre of the flower rises a style of a triangular form, and obtuse at the end, which is surrounded by six white stamina, whose extremities are yellow. The root is of the bulbous kind, and resembles in shape that of garlic, being much of the same size, but rounder, and having, like that, four or five cloves hanging together. The plant grows wild, and in considerable abundance : the women are employed in collecting the roots at the beginning of August, which are afterward dried in the sun, and then laid up for use. On our second arrival, this harvest was just over, and had fallen much short of its usual produce. It is a common observation amongst the Kamtschadales, that the bounty of Providence never fails them ; for that such seasons as are most hurtful to the saranne, are always the most favourable for fishing ; and that, on the contrary, a bad fishing month is always made up by the exuberance of the saranne harvest. It is used in cookery in various ways. When roasted in embers, it supplies the place of bread, better than any thing the country affords. After being baked in an oven and pounded, it becomes an excellent substitute for flour and meal of every sort ; and in this form is mixed in all soups, and most of their other dishes. It is esteemed extremely nourishing, has a pleasant bitter taste, and may be eaten every day without cloying. We used to boil these roots, and eat them as potatoes, either alone, or with our meat, and found them very wholesome and pleasant. It has been already mentioned, that this useful plant grows also at Oonalashka, where the roots of it are used, and constitutes a considerable part of their food, in like manner as in Kamtschatka.



The other plant alluded to is called the sweet grass ; the botanical description is *Heracleum Sibericum foliis pinnatis, foliolis quinis, intermediis sessilibus, corollulis uniformibus*. The time, I took particular notice of it, was in May, when it was about a foot and a half high, had much the appearance of sedge, and was covered with a white down, or dust, which looked exceedingly like the hoar-frost hanging upon it, and might be rubbed off ; it tasted as sweet as sugar ; but was hot and pungent. The stalk is hollow, and consists of three or four joints ; from each of which arise large leaves, and when at its full growth, is six feet high.

This plant was formerly a principal ingredient in the cookery of most of the Kamtschadale dishes ; but since the Russians got possession of the country, it has been almost entirely appropriated to the purposes of distillation. The manner in which it is gathered, prepared, and afterward distilled, is as follows ; having cut such stalks as have leaves growing on them, of a proper age (the principal stem, by the time the plant has attained its full growth, having become too dry for their purpose), and scraped off with shells the downy substance on their surface, they are laid in small heaps, till they begin to sweat and smell. On growing dry again, they put them into sacks made of matting ; where, after remaining a few days, they are gradually covered with a sweet saccharine powder, which exudes from the hollow of the stalk. From thirty-six pounds of the plant in this state, they obtain no more than a quarter of a pound of powder. The women, whose province it is to collect and prepare the materials, are obliged to defend their hands with gloves whilst they are scraping the stalks ; the rind they remove, being of so acrid a quality, as to blister, and even ulcerate whatever it touches.

The spirit is drawn from the plant in this state by the following process. After steeping bundles of it in hot water, they promote its fermentation in a small vessel, by the help of berries of the gimolost, or of the golubitsa, being careful

to close up well the mouth of the vessel, and to keep it in a warm place whilst the fermentation is going on, which is generally so violent as to occasion a considerable noise, and to agitate the vessel in which it is contained. After drawing off this first liquor, they pour on more hot water, and make a second in the same manner. They then pour both liquor and herbs into a copper still, and draw off the spirit after the usual method. The liquor thus obtained is of the strength of brandy; and is called by the natives raka. Two pood (seventy-two pounds) of the plant yield generally one vedro (twenty-five pints) of raka.

The dogs of this country are, in shape and mien, exceedingly like the Pomeranian, with this difference, that they are a great deal larger, and the hair somewhat coarser. They are of a variety of colours; but the most general is a light dun, or dirty cream-colour. Toward the end of May they are all turned loose, and left to provide for themselves through the summer, being sure to return to their respective homes when the snow begins to fall. Their food, in the winter, consists entirely of the head, entrails, and back bones of salmon; which are put aside, and dried for that purpose; and with this diet they are fed but sparingly. The number of dogs must needs be very great, since five are yoked to a sledge, and a sledge carries but one person; so that on our journey to Bolcheretsk, we required no fewer than an hundred and thirty-nine, at the two stages of Karatchin and Natcheechin. It is also to be remarked, that they never make use of bitches for the draft, nor dogs, but those that are cut. The whelps are trained to this business, by being tied to stakes with light leathern thongs, which are made to stretch, and having their victuals placed at a proper distance out of their reach; so that by constantly pulling and labouring, in order to come at their food, they acquire both the strength of limbs, and the habit of drawing, that are necessary for their future destination.

The houses of the Kamtschadales (if they may be allowed

that name) are of three distinct sorts, jourts, balagans, and log-houses, called here isbas. The first are their winter, the second their summer habitations; the third are altogether of Russian introduction, and inhabited only by the better and wealthier sort.

The jourts, or winter habitations, are constructed in the following manner: an oblong square, of dimensions proportioned to the number of persons for whom it is intended, (for it is proper to observe, that several families live together in the jourt,) is dug in the earth to the depth of about six feet. Within this space strong posts, or wooden pillars, are fastened in the ground, at proper distances from each other, on which are extended the beams for the support of the roof, which is formed by joists resting on the ground with one end, and on the beams with the other. The interstices between the joists are filled up with a strong wicker-work, and the whole covered with turf; so that a jourt has externally the appearance of a round squat hillock. A hole is left in the centre, which serves for chimney, window, and entrance, and the inhabitants pass in and out by means of a strong pole (instead of a ladder), notched just deep enough to afford a little holding for the toe. There is likewise another entrance in the side, even with the ground, for the convenience of the women; but if a man makes use of it, he subjects himself to the same disgrace and derision, as a sailor would who descends through lubbers-hole. The jourt consists of one apartment, of an oblong square. Along the sides are extended broad platforms made of boards, and raised about six inches from the ground, which they use as seats, and on which they go to rest, after strewing them with mats and skins. On one side is the fire-place, and the side opposite is entirely set apart for the stowage of provisions and kitchen utensils. At their feasts, and ceremonious entertainments, the hotter the jourts are made for the reception of their guests, the greater the compliment. We found them at all times so hot, as to make any length of stay in

them to us intolerable. They betake themselves to the jourts the middle of October; and, for the most part, continue in them till the middle of May.

The balagans are raised upon nine posts, fixed into the earth in three rows, at equal distances from one another, and about thirteen feet high from the surface. At the height of between nine and ten feet, rafters are passed from post to post, and firmly secured by strong ropes. On these rafters are laid the joists, and the whole being covered with turf, constitutes the platform or floor of the balagan. On this is raised a roof of a conical figure, by means of tall poles, fastened down to the rafters at one end, and meeting together in a point at the top, and thatched over with strong coarse grass. The balagans have two doors placed opposite each other, and they ascend to them by the same sort of ladders they use in the jourts. The lower part is left entirely open; and within it they dry their fish, roots, vegetables, and other articles of winter consumption. The proportion of jourts and balagans, is as one to six; so that six families generally live together in one jourt,

The log-houses (ishas) are raised with long timbers piled horizontally, the ends being let into one another, and the seams caulked with moss. The roof is sloping like that of our common cottage houses, and thatched with coarse grass of rushes. The inside consists of three apartments. At one end is what may be called the entry, which runs the whole width and height of the house, and is the receptacle of their sledges, harness, and other more bulky gear and household stuff. This communicates with the middle and best apartment, furnished with broad benches, for the purpose, as hath been above mentioned, of both eating and sleeping upon. Out of this is a door into the kitchen; one half of which is taken up by the oven or fire-place, so contrived, by being let into the wall that separates the kitchen and the middle apartment, as to warm both at the same time. Over the middle apartment and kitchen are two lofts,

to which they ascend by a ladder placed in the entry. There are two small windows in each apartment, made of talo, and in the houses of the poorer sort, of fish-skin. The beams and boards of the ceiling are dubbed smooth with a hatchet (for they are unacquainted with the plane), and from the effects of the smoke are as black and shining as jet.

A town of Kamtschatka is called an ostrog, and consists of several of the three sorts of houses above described; but of which balagans are much the most numerous; and I must observe, that I never met with a house of any kind detached from an ostrog. Saint Peter and Saint Paul consists of seven log-houses, or isbas, nineteen balagans, and three jourts. Paratounca is of about the same size. Karatchin and Natchekin contain fewer log-houses but full as many jourts and balagans as the former; from whence I conclude, that such is the usual size of the ostroms.

The outermost garment of the men is of the shape of a carter's frock. Those worn in summer are of nankeen: in winter they are made of skins, most commonly of the deer or dog, tanned on one side, the hair being left on the other, which is worn innermost. Under this is a close jacket of nankeen, or other cotton stuffs; and beneath that a shirt of thin Persian silk, of a blue, red, or yellow colour. The remaining part of their dress consists of a pair of tight trousers, or long breeches, of leather, reaching down to the calf of the leg; of a pair of dog or deer skin boots, with the hair innermost; and of a fur cap, with two flaps, which are generally tied up close to the head, but in bad weather are let to fall round the shoulders.

The fur dress presented to me by a son of Major Behm (as already mentioned), is one of those worn by the Toians, on ceremonious occasions. The form exactly resembles that of the common exterior garment just described. It is made of small triangular pieces of fur, chequered brown and white, and joined so neatly as to appear to be one skin. A border of six inches breadth, wrought with threads of dif-

ferent coloured leather, and producing a rich effect, surrounds the bottom, to which is suspended a broad edging of the sea-otter skin. The sleeves are turned up with the same materials ; and there is likewise an edging of it round the neck, and down the opening at the breast. The lining is of a smooth white skin. A cap, a pair of gloves, and boots, wrought with the utmost degree of neatness, and made of the same materials, constitute the remainder of this suit. The Russians in Kamtschatka wear the European dress ; and the uniform of the troops quartered here, is of a dark green, faced with red.

The inhabitants of as many of the islands as are brought under the Russian dominion, are at present converted to christianity. And probably the time is not very distant, when a friendly and profitable intercourse will be brought about between Kamtschatka and the whole chain of islands ; and will draw after it a communication with Japan itself. This may be greatly facilitated by a circumstance related to me by Major Behn, that several Russians, who had been taught the Japanese language, by two men belonging to a vessel of that nation, which had been shipwrecked on the coast of Kamtschatka, had been sent among those islands.

I shall now return to the account of our own party. Our instructions from the Board of Admiralty having left a discretionary power with the commanding officer of the expedition, in case of failure in the search of a passage from the Pacific into the Atlantic Ocean, to return to England, by whatever route he should think best for the farther improvement of geography ; Capt. Gore demanded of the principal officers their sentiments, in writing, respecting the manner in which these orders might most effectually be obeyed. The result of our opinions, which he had the satisfaction to find unanimous, and entirely coinciding with his own, was, that the condition of the ships, of the sails, and cordage, made it unsafe to attempt, at so advanced a season of the year, to navigate the sea between Japan and Asia ; which



would otherwise have afforded the largest field for discovery; that it was therefore advisable to keep to the eastward of that island, and in our way thither to run along the Kuriles, and examine more particularly the islands that lie nearest the northern coast of Japan, which are represented as of a considerable size, and independent of the Russian and Japanese governments. Should we be so fortunate as to find in these any safe and commodious harbours, we conceived they might be of importance, either as places of shelter for any future navigator, who may be employed in exploring the seas, or as the means of opening a commercial intercourse among the neighbouring dominions of the two empires. Our next object was to survey the coast of the Japanese Islands, and afterward to make the coast of China, as far to the northward as we were able, and run along it to Macao.

This plan being adopted, I received orders from Capt. Gore, in case of separation, to proceed immediately to Macao; and at six o'clock in the evening of the 9th of October, having cleared the entrance of Awatska Bay, we steered to the south-east, with the wind north-west and by west, and proceeded on our voyage.

On the 29th of November we approached the coast of China, and saw several Chinese fishing boats, who eyed us with great indifference. In the morning of the 30th, we ran along the Lema isles, which, like all other islands on this coast, are without wood, and, as far as we could observe, without cultivation. At seven o'clock we had precisely the same view of these islands, as is represented in a plate of Lord Anson's voyage. At nine o'clock, a Chinese boat, which had been before with the *Resolution*, came along-side, and wanted to put on board us a pilot, which however we declined, as it was our business to follow our consort. We soon after passed the rock marked R. in Lord Anson's plate; but, instead of hauling up to the northward of the grand

Ladrone island, as was done in the *Centurion*, we proceeded to leeward.

It is hardly necessary to caution the mariner not to take this course, as the danger is sufficiently obvious; for should the wind blow strong, and the current set with it, it will be extremely difficult to fetch Macao. Indeed we might, with great safety, by the direction of Mr. Dalrymple's map, have gone either entirely to the north of the Lema isles, or between them, and made the wind fair for Macao. Our fears of missing this port, and being forced to Batavia, added to the strong and eager desire of hearing from Europe, made us rejoice to see the *Resolution* soon after fire a gun, and hoist her colours as a signal for a pilot. On repeating the signal, we saw an excellent race between four Chinese boats; and Capt. Gore, having engaged with the man who arrived first, to carry the ship to the Typa, for thirty dollars, sent me word, that, as we could easily follow, that expence might be saved to us. Soon after, a second pilot getting on board the *Resolution*, insisted on conducting the ship, and, without farther ceremony, laid hold of the wheel, and began to order the sails to be trimmed. This occasioned a violent dispute, which, at last, was compromised by their agreeing to go shares in the money.

In obedience to the instructions given to Capt. Cook by the Board of Admiralty, it now became necessary to demand of the officers and men their journals, and what other papers they might have in their possession, relating to the history of our voyage. The execution of these orders seemed to require some delicacy, as well as firmness. I could not be ignorant, that the greatest part of our officers, and several of the seamen, had amused themselves with writing accounts of our proceedings for their own private satisfaction, or that of their friends, which they might be unwilling, in their present form, to have submitted to the inspection of strangers. On the other hand, I could not, consistently with the instructions we had received, leave in their custody

papers, which either from carelessness or design, might fall into the hands of printers, and give rise to spurious and imperfect accounts of the voyage, to the discredit of our labours, and perhaps to the prejudice of officers, who, though innocent, might be suspected of having been the authors of such publications. As soon, therefore, as I had assembled the ship's company on deck, I acquainted them with the orders we had received, and the reasons which, I thought, ought to induce them to yield a ready obedience. At the same time, I told them, that any papers which they were desirous not to have sent to the Admiralty, should be sealed up in their presence, and kept in my own custody, till the intentions of the Board, with regard to the publication of the history of the voyage, were fulfilled; after which, they should be faithfully restored back to them.

It is with the greatest satisfaction I can relate, that my proposals met with the approbation, and the cheerful compliance both of the officers and men; and I am persuaded, that every scrap of paper, containing any transactions relating to the voyage, were given up. Indeed it is bare justice to the seamen of this ship to declare, that they were the most obedient, and the best-disposed men I ever knew, though almost all of them were very young, and had never before served in a ship of war.

The intelligence we had just received of the state of affairs in Europe, made us the more exceedingly anxious to hasten our departure as much as possible; and I therefore immediately attempted to procure a passage to Canton, but without effect. The difficulty arising from the established policy of the country, I was now told, would probably be much increased by an incident that had happened a few weeks before our arrival. Capt. Panton, in the *Sea-horse*, a ship of war of twenty-four guns, had been sent from Madras, to urge the payment of a debt owing by the Chinese merchants of Canton to private British subjects in the East Indies and Europe, which, including the princi-

pal and compound interest, amounted, I understood, to near a million sterling. For this purpose, he had orders to insist on an audience with the Viceroy of Canton, which, after some delay, and not without recourse being had to threats, was, at length, obtained. The answer he received, on the subject of his mission, was fair and satisfactory; but immediately after his departure, an edict was stuck up on the houses of the Europeans, and in the public places of the city, forbidding all foreigners, on any pretence, to lend money to the subjects of the emperor.

This measure had occasioned very serious alarms at Canton. The Chinese merchants, who had incurred the debt contrary to the commercial laws of their own country, and denied, in part, the justice of the demand, were afraid that intelligence of this would be carried to Peking; and that the Emperor, who has the character of a just and rigid prince, might punish them with the loss of their fortunes, if not of their lives. On the other hand, the select committee, to whom the cause of the claimants was strongly recommended by the presidency of Madras, were extremely apprehensive lest they should embroil themselves with the Chinese government at Canton; and by that means bring irreparable mischief on the company's affairs in China.

The arrival of the *Resolution* and *Discovery* at such a time, could not fail of occasioning fresh alarms; and finding there was no probability of my proceeding to Canton, I dispatched a letter to the English supercargoes, to acquaint them with the cause of our putting into the *Typha*, to request their assistance in procuring me a passport, and forwarding the stores we wanted, of which I sent them a list, as expeditiously as possible.

The next morning I was accompanied on board by our countryman, who pointing out to us the situation of the *Typha*, we weighed at half past six, and stood toward it; but the wind failing, we came to, at eight, in three and a half fathoms water; Macao bearing west-north-west, three miles distant; the Grand Ladrone south-east by south.

The Resolution here saluted the Portuguese fort with eleven guns, which were returned by the same number. Early on the 4th, we again weighed, and stood into the Typa, and moored with the stream anchor and cable to the westward.

The comprador, whom we at first engaged with, having disappeared with a small sum of money, which had been given him to purchase provisions, we contracted with another, who continued to supply both ships, during our whole stay. This was done secretly, and in the night-time, under pretence, that it was contrary to the regulations of the port; but we suspected all this caution to have been used with a view either of enhancing the price of the articles he furnished, or of securing to himself the profits of his employment, without being obliged to share them with the Mandarines.

On the 9th, Capt. Gore received an answer from the committee of the English supercargoes at Canton, in which they assured him, that their best endeavours should be used to procure the supplies we stood in need of, as expeditiously as possible; and that a passport should be sent for one of his officers, hoping at the same time, that we were sufficiently acquainted with the character of the Chinese government, to attribute any delays, that might unavoidably happen, to their true cause.

The day following, an English merchant, from one of our settlements in the East Indies, applied to Capt. Gore for the assistance of a few hands to navigate a vessel he had purchased at Macao, up to Canton. Capt. Gore judging this a good opportunity for me to proceed to that place, gave orders that I should take along with me my second lieutenant, the lieutenant of marines, and ten seamen. Though this was not precisely the mode in which I could have wished to visit Canton, yet as it was uncertain when the passport might arrive, and my presence might contribute materially to the expediting of our supplies, I did not hesi-

tate to put myself on board, having left orders with Mr. Williamson, to get the *Discovery* ready for sea as soon as possible, and to make such additions and alterations in her upper works, as might contribute to make her more defensible.

We left the harbour of Macao on the 11th of December, and as we approached the Bocca Tygris, were visited by an officer of the customs ; on which occasion the owner of the vessel, being apprehensive that, if we were discovered on board, it would occasion some alarm, and might be attended with disagreeable consequences, begged us to retire into the cabin below.

We did not arrive at Wampû, which is only nine leagues from the Bocca Tygris, till the 18th, our progress having been retarded by contrary winds, and the lightness of the vessel. From Wampû, I immediately proceeded in a sam-pane, or Chinese boat, to Canton, which is about two leagues and a half up the river. These boats are the neatest and most convenient for passengers I ever saw. They are of various sizes, almost flat at the bottom, very broad upon the beam, and narrow at the head and stern, which are raised and ornamented ; the middle, where we sat, was arched over with a roof of bamboo, which may be raised or lowered at pleasure ; in the sides were small windows with shutters, and the apartment was furnished with handsome mats, chairs, and tables. In the stern was placed a small waxen idol, in a case of gilt leather, before which stood a pot, containing lighted tapers made of dry chips, or matches, and gum. The hire of this boat was a spanish dollar.

I reached Canton a little after it was dark, and landed at the English factory, where, though my arrival was very unexpected, I was received with every mark of attention and civility. The select committee immediately gave me an account of such stores as the India ships were able to afford us ; and though I have not the smallest doubt, that the commanders were desirous of assisting us with every



thing they could spare, consistently with a regard to their own safety, and the interest of their employers, yet it was a great disappointment to me to find in their list scarcely any articles of cordage or canvas, of both which we stood principally in need. It was, however, some consolation to understand, that the stores were in readiness for shipping, and that the provisions we required might be had at a day's notice. Wishing therefore to make my stay here as short as possible, I requested the gentlemen to procure junks or boats for me the next day, with an intention of leaving Canton the following one ; but I was soon informed, that a business of that kind was not to be transacted so rapidly in this country ; that leave must be first procured from the Viceroy ; that the Hoppo, or principal officer of the customs, must be applied to for chops, or permits ; and that these favours were not granted without mature deliberation ; in short, that patience was an indispensable virtue in China ; and that they hoped to have the pleasure of making the factory agreeable to me for a few days longer than I seemed willing to favour them with my company.

Though I was not much disposed to relish this compliment, yet I could not help being diverted with an incident that occurred very opportunely to convince me of the truth of their representations, and of the suspicious character of the Chinese. It was now about fifteen days since Capt. Gore had written to the factory, to desire their assistance in procuring leave for one of his officers to pass to Canton. In consequence of this application, they had engaged one of the principal Chinese merchants of the place, to interest himself in our favour, and to solicit the business with the viceroy. This person came to visit the president, whilst we were talking on the subject, and with great satisfaction and complacency in his countenance acquainted him, that he had at last succeeded in his applications, and that a passport for one of the officers of the Ladrone ship (or pirate) would be ready in a few days. The president immediately told him

not to give himself any farther trouble, as the officer, pointing to me, was already arrived. It is impossible to describe the terror, which seized the old man on hearing this intelligence. His head sunk upon his breast, and the sofa on which he was sitting shook, from the violence of his agitation. Whether the Ladrone ship was the object of his apprehensions, or his own government, I could not discover; but after continuing in this deplorable state a few minutes, Mr. Bevan bade him not to despair, and recounted to him the manner in which I had passed from Macao, the reason of my journey to Canton, and my wishes to leave it as soon as possible. This last circumstance seemed particularly agreeable to him, and gave me hopes, that I should find him equally disposed to hasten my departure: and now, he began to recount the unavoidable delays that would occur in my business, the difficulty of gaining admittance to the viceroy, the jealousies and suspicions of the Mandarins, respecting our real designs, which had risen, he said, to an extraordinary height, from the strange account we had given of ourselves.

After waiting several days, with great impatience for the event of our application, without understanding that the matter was at all advanced towards a conclusion, I applied to the commander of an English country ship, who was to sail on the 25th, and who offered to take the men and stores on board, and to lie to, if the weather should permit, off Mocao, till we could send boats to take them out of the ship. At the same time he apprised me of the danger there might be of his being driven with them out to sea. While I was doubting what measures to pursue, the commander of another country ship, brought me a letter from Capt. Gore, in which he acquainted me, that he had engaged him to bring us down from Canton, and to deliver the stores we had procured, at his own risk, in the *Typha*. All our difficulties being thus removed, I had leisure to attend to the purchase of our provisions and stores, which was completed

on the 26th ; and the day following, the whole stock was sent on board.

As Canton was likely to be the most advantageous market for furs, I was desired by Capt. Gore to carry with me about twenty sea-otters skins, chiefly the property of our deceased commanders, and to dispose of them at the best price I could procure ; a commission, which gave me an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the genius of the Chinese for trade. Having acquainted some of the English supercargoes with these circumstances, I desired them to recommend me to some Chinese merchant of credit and reputation, who would at once offer me a fair and reasonable price. I was accordingly directed to a member of the Hong, a society of the principal merchants of the place, who being fully informed of the nature of the business, appeared sensible of the delicacy of my situation ; assured me, I might depend on his integrity ; and that, in a case of this sort, he should consider himself merely as an agent, without looking for any profit to himself. Having laid my goods before him, he examined them with great care, over and over again, and at last told me, that he could not venture to offer more than three hundred dollars for them. As I knew that he had not offered me one half their value, I found myself under the necessity of driving a bargain. In my turn, I therefore demanded one thousand ; my Chinese then advanced to five hundred ; then offered me a private present of tea and porcelain, amounting to one hundred more ; then the same sum in money ; and, lastly, rose to seven hundred dollars, on which I fell to nine hundred. Here, each side declaring he would not recede, we parted ; but the Chinese soon returned with a list of India goods, which he now proposed I should take in exchange, and which, I was afterward told, would have amounted in value, if honestly delivered, to double the sum he had before offered. Finding I did not choose to deal in this mode, he proposed as his ultimatum, that we should divide the dif-

ference, which, being tired of the contest, I consented to, and received eight hundred dollars.

The ill health, which I at this time laboured under, left me little reason to lament the very narrow limits, within which the policy of the Chinese obliges every European at Canton to confine his curiosity. I should otherwise have felt exceedingly tantalized with living under the walls of so great a city, full of objects of novelty, without being able to enter it.

Canton, including the old and new town, and the suburbs, is about ten miles in circuit. With respect to its population, if one may judge of the whole, from what is seen in the suburbs, I should conceive it to fall considerably short of an European town of the same magnitude. Le Comte estimated the number of inhabitants at one million five hundred thousand ; Du Halde at one million ; and M. Sonnerat says he has ascertained them to be no more than seventy-five thousand : but, as this gentleman has not favoured us with the grounds on which his calculation was founded ; and, besides, appears as desirous of depreciating every thing that relates to the Chinese, as the Jesuits may be of magnifying, his opinion certainly admits of some doubt. The following circumstance may perhaps lead the reader to form a judgment with tolerable accuracy on this subject.

A Chinese house, undoubtedly, occupies more space than is usually taken up by houses in Europe : but the proportion suggested by M. Sonnerat, of four or five to one, certainly goes much beyond the truth. To this should be added, that a great many houses, in the suburbs of Canton, are occupied, for commercial purposes only, by merchants and rich tradesmen, whose families live entirely within the city. On the other hand, a Chinese family appears to consist, on an average, of more persons than an European. A Mandarin, according to his rank and substance, has from five to twenty wives. A merchant from three to five. One of this class at Canton, had, indeed, twenty-five wives, and thirty-six

children; but this was mentioned to me as a very extraordinary instance. An opulent tradesman has usually two; and the lower class of people very rarely more than one. Their servants are at least double in number to those employed by persons of the same condition in Europe. If, then, we suppose a Chinese family one third larger, and an European house two thirds less, than each other, a Chinese city will contain only half the number of inhabitants contained in a European town of the same size. According to these data, the city and suburbs of Canton may probably contain about one hundred and fifty thousand.

With respect to the number of inhabited Sampanes, I found different opinions were entertained; but none placing them lower than forty thousand. They are moored in rows close to each other, with a narrow passage, at intervals, for the boats to pass up and down the river. As the Tygris, at Canton, is somewhat wider than the Thames, at London; and the whole river is covered in this manner for the extent of at least a mile; this account of their number does not appear to me, in the least, exaggerated; and if it be allowed, the number of inhabitants in the Sampanes alone (for each of them contains one family), must amount to nearly three times the number supposed by M. Sonnerat to be in the whole city.

The military force of the province, of which Canton is the capital, amounts to fifty thousand men. It is said that twenty thousand are stationed in and about the city; and, I was assured, that, on the occasion of some disturbance that had happened at Canton, thirty thousand men were drawn together within the space of a few hours.

The streets are long, and most of them narrow and irregular; but well paved with large stones; and, for the most part, kept exceedingly clean. The houses are built of brick, one story high, having generally two or three courts backward, in which are the ware-houses for merchandise, and, in the houses within the city, the apartments for the women. A very few of the meanest sort are built of wood.

The houses belonging to the European factors, are built on an handsome quay, with a regular façade of two stories toward the river, and disposed within, partly after the European, and partly after the Chinese manner. Adjoining to these are a number of houses, belonging to the Chinese, and hired out to the commanders of ships, and merchants, who make an occasional stay. As no European is allowed to bring his wife to Canton, the English supercargoes live together, at a common table, which is kept by the company, and have each a separate apartment, consisting of three or four rooms. The time of their residence seldom exceeds eight months annually; and as they are pretty constantly employed, during that time, in the service of the company, they may submit with the less regret, to the restraints they are kept under. They very rarely pay any visits within the walls of Canton, except on public occasions. Indeed, nothing gave me so unfavourable an idea of the character of the Chinese, as to find, that, amongst so many persons of liberal minds, and amiable manners, some of whom have resided in that country for near fifteen years together, they have never formed any friendship or social connection. As soon as the last ship quits Wampû, they are all obliged to retire to Macao; but, as a proof of the excellent police of the country, they leave all the money they possess in specie behind them, which, I was told, sometimes amounted to one hundred thousand pounds sterling, and for which they had no other security than the seals of the merchants of the Hong, the viceroy, and Mandarins.

During my stay at Canton, I was carried, by one of the English gentlemen, to visit a person of the first consequence in the place. We were received in a long room or gallery, at the upper end of which stood a table, with a large chair behind it, and a row of chairs extending from it on each side down the room. Being previously instructed, that the point of civility consisted in remaining as long unseated as possible, I readily acquitted myself of this piece of etiquette; after which we were entertained with tea, and some preserved and fresh



fruits. Our host was very fat, with a heavy dull countenance, and of great gravity in his deportment. He spoke a little broken English and Portuguese; and, after we had taken our refreshment, he carried us about his house and garden; and having shewed us all the improvements he was making, we took our leave.

I had hitherto intended, as well to avoid the trouble and delay of applying for passports, as to save the unnecessary expence of hiring a sampan, which I understood amounted to at least twelve pounds sterling, to go along with the stores to Macao, in the country merchant's ship I have before mentioned; but having received an invitation from two English gentlemen, who had obtained passports for four, I accepted, along with Mr. Philips, their offer of places in a Chinese boat, and left Mr. Lannyon to take care of the men and stores, which were to sail the next day. In the evening of the 20th, I took my leave of the supercargoes, having thanked them for their many obliging favours; amongst which I must not forget to mention an handsome present of tea for the use of the ships' companies, and a large collection of English periodical publications. The latter we found a valuable acquisition, as they both served to amuse our impatience, during our tedious voyage home, and enabled us to return not total strangers to what had been transacting in our native country. At one o'clock, the next morning, we left Canton, and arrived at Macao about the same hour the day following, having passed down a channel, which lies to the westward of that by which we had come up.

During our absence, a brisk trade had been carrying on with the Chinese, for the sea-otter skins, which had, every day, been rising in their value. One of our seamen sold his stock, alone, for eight hundred dollars; and a few prime skins, which were clean, and had been well preserved, were sold for one hundred and twenty each. The whole amount of the value, in specie and goods, that was got for the furs, in both ships, I am confident, did not fall short of two thousand

pounds sterling; and it was supposed, that at least two-thirds of the quantity we had originally got from the Americans, were spoiled and worn out, or had been given away, and otherwise disposed of, in Kamtschatka. When, in addition to these facts, it is remembered, that the furs were, at first, collected without our having any idea of their real value; that the greatest part had been worn by the Indians, from whom we purchased them; that they were afterward preserved with little care, and frequently used for bed clothes, and other purposes, during our cruise to the north; and that, probably, we had never got the full value for them in China; the advantages that might be derived from a voyage to that part of the American coast, undertaken with commercial views, appear to me of a degree of importance sufficient to call for the attention of the public.

The barter which had been carried on with the Chinese for our sea-otter skins, had produced a very whimsical change in the dress of all our crew. On our arrival in the *Typha*, nothing could exceed the ragged appearance both of the younger officers and seamen; for, as our voyage had already greatly exceeded the time it was at first imagined we should remain at sea, almost the whole of our original stock of European clothes, had been long worn out, or patched up with skins, and the various manufactures we had met with in the course of our discoveries. These were now again mixed and eked out with the gaudiest silks and cottons of China.

On the 30th, Mr. Lannyon arrived with the stores and provisions, which were immediately stowed in due proportion on board the two ships. The next day, agreeably to a bargain made by Capt. Gore, I sent our sheet anchor to the country ship, and received in return the guns, which she before rode by.

On the 11th of January, two seamen belonging to the *Resolution* found means to run off with a six oared cutter, and notwithstanding diligent search was made, both that and the following day, we were never able to learn any tidings of her.

It was supposed, that these people had been seduced by the prevailing notion of making a fortune, by returning to the fur islands.

As we heard nothing, during our stay in the Typa, of the measurement of the ships, it may be concluded, that the point so strongly contested by the Chinese, in Lord Anson's time, has, in consequence of his firmness and resolution, never since been insisted on.

On the 12th of January, 1780, at noon, we unmoored, and scaled the guns, which, on board my ship, now amounted to ten; so that, by means of four additional ports, we could, if occasion required, fight seven on a side. In like manner, the Resolution had increased the number of her guns from twelve to sixteen; and, in both ships, a stout barricade was carried round their upper works, and every other precaution taken to give our small force as respectable an appearance as possible.

We thought it our duty to provide ourselves with these means of defence, though we had some reason to believe, that the generosity of our enemies had, in a great measure, rendered them superfluous. We were informed at Canton, that the public prints, which had arrived last from England, made mention of instructions having been found on board all the French ships of war, captured in Europe, directing their commanders, in case of falling in with the ships that sailed under the command of Capt. Cook, to suffer them to proceed on their voyage without molestation. The same orders were also said to have been given by the American congress to the vessels employed in their service. As this intelligence was farther confirmed by the private letters of several of the supercargoes, Capt. Gore thought himself bound, in return for the liberal exceptions made in our favour, to refrain from availing himself of any opportunities of capture, which these seas might afford, and to preserve throughout his voyage, the strictest neutrality.

At two in the afternoon, having got under sail, the *Resolution* saluted the fort of Macao with eleven guns, which was returned with the same number. At five, the wind dropping, the ship missed stays, and drove into shallow water; but, by carrying out an anchor, she was hauled off without receiving the smallest damage. The weather continuing calm, we were obliged to warp into the entrance of the *Typha*, which we gained by eight o'clock, and lay there till nine the next morning; when, by the help of a fresh breeze from the east, we stood to the southward between *Potoe* and *Wungbo*. At noon, we were saluted by a Swedish ship as she passed us on her way to Europe. At four the *Ladrone* bore east, distant two leagues. We now steered south-half-east, with a fresh breeze from the east-north-east, and on the 20th we reached *Condore*.

As soon as we were come to anchor, Capt. Gore fired a gun, with a view of apprising the natives of our arrival, and drawing them toward the shore, but without effect. Early in the morning of the 21st, parties were sent to cut wood, which was Capt. Gore's principal motive for coming hither. In the afternoon, a sudden gust of wind broke the stream-cable, by which the *Discovery* was riding, and obliged us to moor with the bower anchors.

None of the natives having yet made their appearance, notwithstanding a second gun had been fired, Capt. Gore thought it advisable to land, and go in search of them, that no time might be lost in opening a trade for such provisions as the place could afford: with this view, he appointed me to accompany him, in the morning of the 22d; and, as the wind at this time blew strong from the east, we did not think it prudent to coast in our boats to the town, which is situated in the east side of the island, but rowed round the north point of the harbour. We had proceeded about two miles along the shore, when, observing a road that led into a wood, we landed. Here I quitted Capt. Gore, taking with me a midshipman, and four armed sailors, and pursued the path which seemed to point directly across the island. We proceeded through a

thick wood, up a steep hill, to the distance of a mile, when, after descending through a wood of the same extent, on the other side, we came out into a flat, open, sandy country, interspersed with cultivated spots of rice and tobacco, and groves of cabbage palm-trees, and cocoa-nut trees. We here spied two huts, situated on the edge of the wood, to which we directed our course; and before we came to them, were descried by two men, who immediately ran away from us, notwithstanding all the peaceable and supplicating gestures we could devise.

On reaching the huts, I ordered the party to stay without, lest the sight of so many armed men should terrify the inhabitants, whilst I entered and reconnoitered alone. I found, in one of the huts, an elderly man, who was in a great fright, and preparing to make off with the most valuable effects that he could carry. However, I was fortunate enough, in a very little time, so entirely to dispel his fears, that he came out, and called to the two men, who were running away, to return. The old man and I now soon came to a perfect understanding. A few signs, particularly that most significant one of holding out a handful of dollars, and then pointing to a herd of buffaloes, and the fowls that were running about the huts in great numbers, left him without any doubts as to the real objects of our visit. He pointed toward a place where the town stood, and made us comprehend, that by going thither, our wants would be supplied. By this time the young men, who had fled, were returned, and the old man ordered one of them to conduct us to the town, as soon as an obstacle should be removed, of which we were not aware. On our first coming out of the wood, a herd of buffaloes, to the number of twenty at least, came running toward us, tossing up their heads, snuffing the air, and roaring in a hideous manner. They had followed us to the huts, and stood drawn up in a body, at a little distance; and the old man made us understand, that it would be exceedingly dangerous for us to move, till they were driven into the woods; but so enraged were the animals grown at the sight of us, that this was not effected without a good deal of

time and difficulty. The men, not being able to accomplish it, we were surprised to see them call to their assistance a few little boys, who soon drove them out of sight. Afterward, we had occasion to observe, that in driving these animals, and securing them, which is done by putting a rope through a hole which is made in their nostrils, little boys were always employed, who could stroke and handle them with impunity, at times when the men durst not approach them. Having got rid of the buffaloes, we were conducted to the town, which was at a mile's distance; the road to it lying through a deep white sand. It is situated near the sea side, at the bottom of a retired bay, which must afford a safe road-stead during the prevalence of the south-west monsoons.

This town consists of between twenty and thirty houses, built close together; besides six or seven others that are scattered about the beach. The roof, the two ends, and the side fronting the country, are neatly constructed of reeds; the opposite side, facing the sea, is entirely open; but, by means of a sort of bamboo screens, they can exclude or let in as much of the sun and air as they please. We observed, likewise, other large screens or partitions, for the purpose of dividing, as occasion required, the single room of which the house, properly speaking, consists, into separate apartments.

We were conducted to the largest house in the town, belonging to their chief, or, as they called him, their captain. This house had a room at each end, separated by a partition of reeds from the middle space, which was open on both sides, and provided with partition screens like the others. It had, besides, a penthouse, projecting four or five feet beyond the roof, and running the whole length on each side. At each end of the middle room were hung some Chinese paintings, representing men and women in ludicrous attitudes. In this apartment we were civilly desired to seat ourselves on mats, and betel was presented to us.

By means of my money, and pointing at different objects in sight, I had no difficulty in making a man, who seemed to



be the principal person of the company, comprehend the main business of our errand ; and I as readily understood from him, that the chief, or captain, was absent, but would soon return ; and that without his consent, no purchases could be made. We availed ourselves of the opportunity which this circumstance afforded us, to walk about the town ; and did not forget to search, though in vain, for the remains of a fort, which had been built by our countrymen near the spot in 1702.

On returning to the captain's house, we were sorry to find that he was not yet arrived ; and the more so, as the time was almost elapsed which Capt. Gore had fixed for our return to the boat. The natives were desirous we should lengthen our stay ; they even proposed our passing the night there, and offered to accommodate us in the best manner in their power. I had observed, when we were in the house before, and now remarked it the more, that the man I have mentioned above, frequently retired into one of the end rooms, and staid there some little time, before he answered the questions that were put to him ; which led me to suspect that the captain was all the time there, though, for reasons best known to himself, he did not choose to appear ; and I was confirmed in this opinion, by being stopped as I was attempting to go into the room. At length, it clearly appeared that my suspicions were well founded ; for, on our preparing to depart, the person who had so often passed in and out, came from the room with a paper in his hand, and gave it to me to read ; and I was not a little surprised to find a sort of a certificate in French, of which the following is a translation :

*Peter Joseph George, Bishop of Adran, Vicar Apostolick of Cochin China, &c. &c.*

The little Mandarin, the bearer of this writing, is truly an Envoy of the Court at Pulo Condore, to wait and receive any European ship, which may be bound here. The Captain therefore may safely take his vessel into port, and give such intelligence as he may judge necessary.

*At Sai-Gon, 10th August 1779.* PETER JOSEPH GEORGE,  
Bishop of Adran.

We returned this paper, with many protestations of our being the Mandarin's good friends, begging he might be informed that we hoped he would do us the favour to visit the ships, that we might convince him of it. We now took our leave, well satisfied, on the whole, with what had passed, but full of conjectures about this extraordinary French paper. Three of the natives offered us their services to accompany us back, which we readily accepted, and returned by the way we came. Capt. Gore felt peculiar satisfaction at seeing us; for, as we had exceeded our time near an hour, he began to be alarmed for our safety, and was preparing to march after us. He and his party had, during our absence, been profitably employed, in loading the boat with the cabbage-palm, which abounds in this bay. Our guides were made exceedingly happy, on our presenting them with a dollar each for their trouble, and intrusting to their care a bottle of rum for the Mandarin. One of them chose to accompany us on board.

At two in the afternoon we joined the ships, and several of our shooting parties returned about the same time from the woods, having little success, though they saw a great variety of birds and animals, some of which will be hereafter noticed.

At five, a proa, with six men, rowed up to the ship, from the upper end of the harbour, and a decent-looking personage, introduced himself to Capt. Gore with an ease and good breeding, which convinced us his time had been spent in other company than what this island afforded. He brought with him the French paper above alluded to, and said he was the Mandarin mentioned in it. He spoke a few Portuguese words, but, as none of us were acquainted with this language, we were obliged to have recourse to a black man on board, who could speak the Malay, which is the general language of these islanders, and was understood by the Mandarin. After a little previous conversation, he declared to us, that he was a christian, and had been

baptised by the name of Luco ; that he had been sent hither in August last, from Sai-gon, the capital of Cochin China, and had since waited in expectation of some French ships, which he was to pilot to a safe port, not more than a day's sail hence, upon the coast of Cochin China. We acquainted him, that we were not French, but English, and asked him, whether he did not know, that these two nations were now at war with one another. He made answer in the affirmative ; but, at the same time, signified to us, that it was indifferent to him to what nation the ships he was instructed to wait for belonged, if their object was to trade with the people of Cochin China. He here produced another paper, which he desired us to read. This was a letter sealed and directed " To the captains of any European vessels that may touch at Condore." Although we apprehended that this letter was designed for French ships in particular, yet as the direction included all European captains, and as Luco was desirous of our perusing it, we broke the seal, and found it to be written by the bishop who wrote the certificate. Its contents were as follows : " That having reason to expect, by some late intelligence from Europe, that a vessel would soon come to Cochin China, he had, in consequence of this news, got the court to send a Mandarin (the bearer) to Pulo Condore, to wait its arrival ; that if the vessel should put in there, the commander might either send by the bearer an account to him of his arrival, or trust himself to the Mandarin, who would pilot him into a well sheltered port in Cochin China, not more than a day's sail from Condore ; that, should he choose to remain in Condore till the return of the messenger, proper interpreters would be sent back, and any other assistance, which a letter should point out, be furnished ; that it was unnecessary to be more particular, of which the captain himself must be sensible." This letter had the same date as the certificate, and was returned to Luco again, without any copy being taken.

From this letter, and the whole of Luco's conversation, there remained little doubt, that it was a French ship he expected ; at the same time we found he would be glad not to lose his errand, and had no objection to become our pilot. We could not discover from the Mandarin, the exact object and business which the vessel he was waiting for, intended to prosecute in Cochin China. It is true, that our interpreter, the black, was extremely dull and stupid, and I should therefore be sorry, with such imperfect means of information, to run the risk of misleading the reader by any conjectures of my own, respecting the object of Luco's visit to this island. I shall only add, that he told us the French ships might perhaps have put into Tirnon, and from thence sail to Cochin China ; and as he had received no intelligence of them, he thought this most likely to have been the case.

Capt. Gore's inquiries were next directed to find out what supplies could be obtained from the island. Luco said, that he had two buffaloes of his own, which were at our service ; and that there were plenty on the island, which might be purchased for four or five dollars a head : but finding that Capt. Gore thought that sum exceedingly moderate, and would willingly give for them a much greater, the price was afterwards raised upon us to seven and eight dollars.

Early in the morning of the 28rd, the launches of both ships were sent to the town, to fetch the buffaloes which we had given orders to be purchased ; but they were obliged to wait till it was high-water, as they could at no other time get through the opening at the head of the harbour. On their arrival at the village, they found the surf breaking on the beach with such force, that it was with the utmost difficulty each launch brought a buffalo on board in the evening, and the officers, who were sent on this service, gave it as their opinion, that between the violence of the surf, and the fierceness of the buffaloes, it would be extremely im-

prudent to attempt bringing any more off in this way. We had purchased eight, and were now at a loss in what manner to proceed to get them on board. We could kill no more than was just necessary for the consumption of one day, as in this climate meat will not keep till the next. After consulting with Luco, it was concluded, that the remainder should be driven through the wood, and over the hill down to the bay, where Capt. Gore and I had landed the day before, which being sheltered from the wind, was more free from surf. This plan was accordingly put in execution ; but the untractableness and prodigious strength of the buffaloes, rendered it a tedious and difficult operation. The method of conducting them was, by passing ropes through their nostrils, and round their horns ; but having been once enraged at the sight of our men, they became so furious, that they sometimes broke the trees, to which we were often under the necessity of tying them ; sometimes they tore asunder the cartilage of the nostrils, through which the ropes ran, and got loose. On these occasions, all the exertions of our men, to recover them, would have been ineffectual, without the assistance of some young boys, whom these animals would permit to approach them, and by whose little managements their rage was soon appeased. And when, at length, they were got down to the beach, it was by their aid, in twisting ropes round their legs, in the manner they were directed, that we were enabled to throw them down, and by that means to get them into the boats. A circumstance, respecting these animals, which I thought no less singular than this gentleness toward, and, as it should seem, affection for little children, was, that they had not been twenty-four hours on board, before they became the tamest of all creatures. I kept two of them, a male and female, for a considerable time, which became great favourites with the sailors, and thinking that a breed of animals of such strength and size, some of them weighing when dressed, seven hundred pounds weight, would be a valuable

acquisition, I was inclined to have brought them with me to England ; but my intention was frustrated by an incurable hurt that one of them received at sea.

It was not till the 28th, that the buffaloes were all got on board ; however, there was no reason to regret the time taken up by this service, since, in the interim, two wells of excellent water had been discovered, of which, as also of wood, part of the ships' companies had been employed in laying in a good supply ; so that a shorter stop would be necessary, for replenishing our stock of these articles, in the Straits of Sunda. A party had likewise been occupied in drawing the seine, at the head of the harbour, where they took a great many good fish ; and another party, in cutting down the cabbage palm, which was boiled and served out with the meat. Besides this, having been able to procure only a scanty supply of cordage at Macao, the repairing of our rigging was become an object of constant attention, and demanded all our spare time.

Pulo-Condore is high and mountainous, and surrounded by several smaller islands, some of which are less than one, and others two miles distant. It takes its name from two Malay words, Pulo signifying an island, and Condore a calabash, of which it produces great quantities. It is of the form of a crescent, extending near eight miles from the southernmost point, in a north-east direction ; but its breadth no where exceeds two miles. From the westernmost extremity, the land trends to the south-east for about four-miles ; and opposite to this part of the coast there is an island, called, by Monsieur D'Apres, Little Condore, which runs two miles in the same direction. This position of the two islands affords a safe and commodious harbour, the entrance into which is from the north-west. The distance between the two opposite coasts is three quarters of a mile, exclusive of a border of coral rock, which runs down along each side, extending about one hundred yards from the shore. The anchorage is good, from eleven to five fa-



thoms water, but the bottom is so soft and clayey, that we found great difficulty in weighing our anchors. Towards the bottom of the harbour there is shallow water for about half a mile, beyond which the two islands approach so near each other, as to leave only a passage at high water for boats. The most convenient place for watering is at a beach on the eastern side, where there is a small stream, which furnished us with fourteen or fifteen tons of water a day.

We remained here till the 28th of January; and at taking leave of the Mandarin, Capt. Gore, at his own request, gave him a letter of recommendation to the commanders of any other ships that might put in here; to which he added a handsome present. He likewise gave him a letter for the Bishop of Adran, together with a telescope, which he begged might be presented to him as a compliment for the services he had received, through his means, at Condore.

From this time the water continued, for twelve hours, without any visible alteration, viz. till 16<sup>h</sup>. 15<sup>m</sup>. apparent time, when it began to ebb; and at 22<sup>h</sup>. 15<sup>m</sup>. apparent time, it was low water. The change, from ebbing to flowing, was very quick, or in less than 5<sup>m</sup>. The water rose and fell seven feet four inches perpendicular; and every day the same whilst we continued there.

On the 28th day of January 1780, we unmoored; and, as soon as we were clear of the harbour, steered south-south-west for Pulo Timoan. On the 30th, at noon, the latitude by observation, being 5° 0' north, and longitude 104° 45' east, we altered our course to south three quarters west, having a moderate breeze from the north-east, accompanied by fair weather. At two in the morning of the 31st, we had soundings of forty-five fathoms, over a bottom of fine white sand; at which time our latitude was 4° 4' north, longitude 104° 29' east, and the variation of the compass 0° 31' east.

At one in the afternoon, we saw Pulo Timoan; and, at three, it bore south-south-west three quarters west, distant

ten miles. This island is high and woody, and has several small ones lying off to the westward. At five, Pulo Puisang was seen bearing south by east three quarters east; and, at nine, the weather being thick and hazy, and having out-run our reckoning from the effect of some current, we were close upon Pulo Aor, in latitude  $2^{\circ} 46'$  north, longitude  $104^{\circ} 37'$  east, before we were well aware of it, which obliged us to haul the wind to the east-south-east. We kept this course till midnight, and then bore away south-south-east for the Strait of Banca.

On the 1st of February, at noon, our latitude by observation,  $1^{\circ} 20'$  north, and the longitude, deduced from a great number of lunar observations taken in the course of the preceding twelve hours,  $105^{\circ}$  east. At the same time, the longitude, by Mr. Bayly's time-keeper corrected, was  $105^{\circ} 15'$  east. We now steered south by east; and, at sunset, having fine clear weather, saw Pulo Panjang; the body of the island bearing west north-west, and the small islands lying on the south-east of it, west-half south, seven leagues distant. Our latitude, at this time, was  $0^{\circ} 53'$  north.

On the 2nd, at eight in the morning, we tried for soundings, continuing to do the same every hour, till we had passed the Strait of Sunda, and found the bottom with twenty three fathoms of line. At noon, being in latitude, by observation,  $0^{\circ} 22'$  south, longitude  $105^{\circ} 14'$  east, and our soundings twenty fathoms, we came in sight of the little islands called Dominis, which lie off the eastern part of Lingen; and which bore from north  $62^{\circ}$  west, to north,  $80^{\circ}$  west, five leagues distant. At this time we passed a great deal of wood, drifting on the sea; and, at one o'clock, we saw Pulo Taya, bearing south-west by west, distant seven leagues. It is a small high island, with two round peaks, and two detached rocks lying off it to the northward. When abreast of this island, we had soundings of fifteen fathoms. During this and the preceding day, we saw great quanti-

ties of a reddish-coloured scum or spawn, floating on the water, in a southerly direction.

At day-light, on the 3d, we came in sight of the Three Islands; and, soon after, of Monopin Hill, on the island of Banca. At noon, this hill, which forms the north-east point of the entrance of the Straits, bore south-east half south, distant six leagues; our latitude, by observation, being  $1^{\circ} 48'$  south, and longitude  $105^{\circ} 3'$  east, the soundings seventeen fathoms, and no perceivable variation in the compass.

Having got to the westward of the shoal, called Frederick Endric, at half past two we entered the Straits, and bore away to the southward; and, in the afternoon, Monopin Hill bearing due east, we determined its latitude to be  $2^{\circ} 3'$  south, the same as in Mons. D'Apres' map, and its longitude  $105^{\circ} 18'$  east. At nine, a boat came off from the Banca shore, and having rowed round the ships, went away again. We hailed her in the Malaye tongue to come on board, but received no answer. At midnight, finding a strong tide against us, we anchored in twelve fathoms, Monopin Hill bearing north  $29^{\circ}$  west.

On the 4th, in the morning, after experiencing some difficulty in weighing our anchors, owing to the stiff tenacious quality of the ground, we proceeded with the tide down the Straits; the little wind we had from the northward dying away as the day advanced. At noon, there being a perfect calm, and the tide making against us, we dropt our anchor in thirteen fathoms water, about three miles from what is called the Third Point, on the Sumatra shore; Monopin Hill bearing north  $54^{\circ}$  west. The latitude, by observation, was  $2^{\circ} 22'$  south, longitude  $105^{\circ} 38'$  east. At three in the afternoon we weighed and stood on through the Straits with a light breeze; and, at eight, were abreast of the Second Point, and passed it within two miles, in seventeen fathoms water, a sufficient proof, that this point may be bordered upon with safety. At midnight, we again came to anchor

on account of the tide, in thirteen fathoms, Mount Permis-sang, on the island of Banca, bearing north  $7^{\circ}$  east, and the First Point south  $54^{\circ}$  east, distant about three leagues.

In the morning of the 6th, we passed to the westward of Lusepara, at the distance of four or five miles : on the 8th, we saw two sail in the Strait of Sunda ; one lying at anchor near the Midchannel Island ; the other near the Java shore. Not knowing to what nation they might belong, we cleared our ships for action ; and at six came to an anchor in twenty-five fathoms, four miles east by south from North Island. Here we lay all night, and had very heavy thunder and lightning to the north-west ; from which quarter the wind blew in light breezes, accompanied with hard rain. At eight o'clock the next morning, we weighed, and proceeded through the Strait, but about ten the breeze failing, we came to again in thirty-five fathoms. We were, at this time, not more than two miles from the ships, which now hoisting Dutch colours, Capt. Gore sent a boat on board for intelligence.

Early in the afternoon, the boat returned with an account that the large ship was a Dutch East Indiaman, bound for Europe ; and the other a packet from Batavia, with orders for the several ships lying in the Strait. It is the custom for the Dutch ships, as soon as their lading is nearly completed, to leave Batavia, on account of its extreme unwholesomeness, and proceed to some of the more healthy islands in the Strait, where they wait for the remainder of their cargo, and their dispatches. Notwithstanding this precaution, the Indiaman had lost, since her departure from Batavia, four men, and had as many more whose recovery was despaired of. She had lain here a fortnight, and was now about to proceed to water at Cracatoa, having just received final orders by the packet.

At seven in the morning of the 9th, we weighed, and stood on through the Strait to the south-west. At half after ten, I received orders from Capt. Gore to make sail toward

a Dutch ship, which now hove in sight to the southward, and which we supposed to be from Europe ; and, according to the nature of the intelligence we could procure from her, either to join him at Cracatoa, where he intended to stop, for the purpose of supplying the ships with arrack ; or to proceed to the south-east end of Prince's Island, and there take in our water and wait for him. I accordingly bore down toward the Dutch ship, which, soon after, came to an anchor to the eastward ; when the wind slackening, and the current still setting very strong through the Strait to the south-west, we found it impossible to fetch her, and having therefore got as near her as the tide would permit, we also dropt anchor. I immediately dispatched Mr. Williamson, in the cutter, with orders to get on board her if possible ; but as she lay near a mile off, and the tide ran with great rapidity, we perceived that the boat was dropping fast astern. We therefore made the signal to return, and immediately began to veer away the cable, and sent out a buoy astern, in order to assist him in getting on board again. Our poverty, in the article of cordage, was here very conspicuous, for we had not a single coil of rope, in the store-room, to fix to the buoy, but were obliged to set about unreeving the studding-sail geer, the top-sail halliards, and tackle-falls, for that purpose ; and the boat was at this time driving to the southward so fast, that it was not before we had veered away two cables, and almost all our running rigging, that she could fetch the buoy.

I was now under the necessity of waiting till the strength of the tide should abate, which did not happen till the next morning, when Mr. Williamson got on board the ship, and learnt, that she had been seven months from Europe, and three from the Cape of Good Hope ; that before she sailed, France and Spain had declared war against Great Britain ; and that she left Sir Edward Hughes, with a squadron of men of war, and a fleet of East India ships, at the Cape. Mr. Williamson having, at the same time, been informed

that the water at Cracatoa was very good, and always preferred, by the Dutch ships, to that of Prince's Island, I resolved to rejoin the Resolution at the former place: and a fair breeze springing up, we weighed and stood over toward the island, where we soon after saw her at anchor; but the wind falling, and the tide setting strong against us, I was obliged to drop anchor, at the distance of about five miles from the Resolution, and immediately sent a boat on board, to acquaint Capt. Gore with the intelligence we had received.

As soon as the Resolution saw us preparing to come to, she fired her guns, and hoisted an English jack at the ensign staff, the signal at sea to lead ahead. This we afterward understood was intended to prevent our anchoring, on account of the foul ground, which the maps she had on board placed here. However, as we found none, having a muddy bottom, and good holding ground, in sixty fathoms water, we kept fast till the return of the boat, which brought orders to proceed the next morning to Princes island.

At eight o'clock in the evening, it began to blow from the westward, with violent thunder, lightning, and rain; and at three next morning, we weighed; but the westerly wind dying away, was succeeded by a breeze from the south-east, and at the same time, a strong tide setting to the south-west, prevented our fetching the island, and obliged us, at two in the afternoon, to drop anchor in sixty-five fathoms, over a muddy bottom, at three leagues distance from it; the high hill bearing south-west by south, and the peak on Cracaton north by east. We had light airs and calms till six next morning, when we weighed and made sail, having, in our endeavours to heave the anchor out of the ground, twice broken the old messenger, and afterwards a new one, out out of our best hawser. This, however, was entirely owing to the wretched state of our cordage, as the strain was not very considerable, and we had besides assisted the cable in coming in, by clapping the cat-tackle on



it. The wind continuing fair, at noon we came to an anchor off the south-east end of Prince's Island, in twenty-six fathoms, over a sandy bottom ; the east end of the island bearing north-north-east, the southernmost point in sight south-west by south, the high peak north-west half west, distant from the nearest shore half a mile.

As soon as we had come to anchor, Lieutenant Lannyon, who had been here before with Capt. Cook, in the year 1770, was sent along with the Master, to look for the watering place. The brook from which, according to the best of his recollection, the Endeavour had been supplied, was found quite salt. Further inland, they saw a dry bed, where the water seemed to have lodged in rainy seasons : and, about a cable's length below, another run, supplied from an extensive pool, the bottom of which, as well as the surface, was covered with dead leaves. This though a little brackish, being much preferable to the other, we began watering here early the next morning, and finished the same day.

The natives, who came to us soon after we anchored, brought a plentiful supply of large fowls, and some turtles ; but the last were for the most part very small. In the course of the night, we had heavy rain ; and on the 14th, at daylight, we saw the Resolution to the northward, standing toward the island, and at two in the afternoon, she dropped anchor close to us. In the course of the day, we heeled the ship, and scrubbed and hogged her bottom, which was very foul ; and got ready for sea.

The next day, Capt. Gore not having completed his stock of water, sent his men on shore, who now found the brook that was first mentioned, rendered perfectly sweet by the rain, and flowing in great abundance. This being too valuable a treasure to be neglected, I gave orders, that the casks we had filled before should be started, and replenished with the fresh water, which was accordingly done before noon the next day ; and in the evening, we cleared the decks, and both ships were ready for sea.

In the forenoon of the 18th, we had heavy rains and variable winds, which prevented our getting under way till two in the afternoon, when a light wind sprung up from the northward; but this soon after leaving us, we were obliged to drop our anchor again, at eight o'clock that night, in fifty fathoms water, and wait till the same hour the next morning. At that time, being favoured by a breeze from the north-west, we broke ground, to our inexpressible satisfaction, for the last time in the Strait of Sunda, and the next day, we had entirely lost sight of Prince's Island. We were exceedingly struck with the great resemblance of the natives of this island, both in figure, colour, manners, and even language, to the nations we had been so much conversant with, in the south seas. The effects of the Javanese climate, and I did not escape without my full share of it, made me incapable of pursuing the comparison so minutely as I could have wished.

The country abounds with wood to such a degree, that notwithstanding the quantity cut down every year by ships which put into the road, there is no appearance of its diminution. We were well supplied with small turtle, and fowls of a moderate size; the last were sold at the rate of ten for a Spanish dollar. The natives also brought us many hog-deer, and a prodigious number of monkeys, to our great annoyance, as most of our sailors provided themselves with one, if not two, of these troublesome animals.

As we should have met with some difficulty in finding the watering-place, if Mr. Lannyon had not been with us, it may be worth while, for the use of future navigators, to describe its situation more particularly. The peaked hill on the island, bears from it north-west by north; a remarkable tree growing upon a coral reef, and quite detached from the neighbouring shrubs, stands just to the northward; and close by it, there is a small plot of reedy grass, the only piece of the kind that can be seen hereabout. These marks will shew the place where the pool empties itself into the

sea ; but the water here is generally salt, as well as that which is in the pool. The casks must therefore be filled about fifty yards higher up ; where, in dry seasons, the fresh water that comes down from the hills, is lost among the leaves, and must be searched for by clearing them away.

From the time of our entering the Strait of Banca, we began to experience the powerful effects of this pestilential climate. Two of our people fell dangerously ill of malignant putrid fevers ; which however we prevented from spreading, by putting the patients apart from the rest, in the most airy births. Many were attacked with teasing coughs ; others complained of violent pains in the head ; and even the healthiest among us felt a sensation of suffocating heat, attended by an insufferable languor, and a total loss of appetite. But though our situation was for a time thus uneasy and alarming, we had at last the singular satisfaction of escaping from these fatal seas, without the loss of a single life ; a circumstance which was probably owing in part to the vigorous health of the crews, when we first arrived here, as well as to the strict attention, now become habitual in our men, to the salutary regulations introduced amongst us by Capt. Cook.

On our leaving Prince's Island, and during the whole time of our run from thence to the Cape of Good Hope, the crew of the Resolution was in a much more sickly state than that of the Discovery ; for though many of us continued for some time complaining of the effects of the noxious climate we had left, yet happily we all recovered from them. Of the two who had been ill of fevers, one, after being seized with violent convulsions, on the 12th of February, which made us despair of his life, was relieved by the application of blisters, and was soon after out of danger. The other recovered, but more slowly. On board the Resolution, besides the obstinate coughs and fevers under which they very generally laboured, a great many were afflicted with

fluxes, the number of whom, contrary to our expectations, continued increasing till our arrival at the Cape.

Captain Gore attributed this difference in part, and probably with some reason, to the *Discovery* having her fire-place between decks; the heat and smoke of which, he conceived, might help to mitigate the bad effects of the damp night air. But I am rather inclined to believe, that we escaped the flux by the precautions that were taken to prevent out catching it from others. For if some kinds of fluxes be, as I apprehend there is no doubt they are, contagious, it is not improbable, that the *Resolution* caught this disorder from the Dutch ships at Cracatoa. In order to avoid this danger, when Mr. Williamson was sent to the Indiaman in the entrance of the Strait of Sunda, he had the strictest orders not to suffer any of our people, on any account whatever, to go on board; and whenever we had afterward occasion to have any communication with the *Resolution*, the same caution was constantly observed.

We were no sooner clear of Prince's Island, than we had a gentle breeze from the west-north-west; but this did not last long; for the following day the wind became again variable, and continued so till the noon of the 25th, when it grew squally, and blew fresh from the north.

On the 22d at noon, we saw great quantities of boobies, and other fowls, that seldom go far from land; from which we conjectured, that we were near some small unknown island.

In the evening of the 25th, the wind changed suddenly to the southward, accompanied with heavy rains, and began to blow with great violence. During the night, almost every sail we had bent gave way, and most of them were split to rags; our rigging also suffered materially, and we were, the next day, obliged to bend our last suit of sails, and to knot and splice the rigging, our cordage being all expended. This sudden storm we attributed to the change from the monsoon to the regular trade-wind; our

latitude was about  $13^{\circ} 10'$  south, and we had made by our reckoning about  $4^{\circ} \frac{1}{2}$  of longitude west from Java head.

From the 26th of this month to the 28th of March, we had a regular trade-wind from the south-east to east by south, with fine weather; and being in an old beaten track, met no occurrence that deserved the smallest notice.

In the morning of the 28th of March, being in latitude  $31^{\circ} 42'$  south, the trade-wind left us in a violent thunder-storm. From this time to the 3d of April, the winds were moderate, and generally from the south quarter. A fresh breeze then sprung up from the eastward, which continued till the afternoon of the 4th, after which we had a calm that lasted the two following days.

It had hitherto been Captain Gore's intention to proceed directly to St. Helena, without stopping at the Cape; but the rudder of the *Resolution* having been, for some time, complaining, and, on being examined, reported to be in a dangerous state, he resolved to steer immediately for the Cape, as the most eligible place, both for the recovery of his sick, and for procuring a new main-piece to the rudder.

From the 21st of March to the 5th of April, we were strongly affected by the currents, which set to the south-south-west, and south-west by west, sometimes at the rate of eighty knots a day. On the 6th, having got under the lee of the African coast, we lost them entirely.

In the morning of the 6th, a sail was seen to the south-west standing toward us; and, as the wind soon after arose from the same quarter, we cleared our ships for action. We now discovered, from the mast-head, five sail more on our lee-bow, standing to the east-ward; but the weather coming on hazy, we lost sight of them all in an hour's time. Our latitude at noon was  $35^{\circ} 49'$  south, longitude  $21^{\circ} 32'$  east. At seven o'clock the next morning (the seventh), we made the land to the northward at a considerable distance.

On the 8th, the weather was squally, and blew fresh

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from the north-west ; the following day it settled to the west and we passed pretty close to the sail seen on the 6th, but did not hail her. She was clumsy in figure, and to appearance, unskilfully managed ; yet she outsailed us exceedingly. The colours which she hoisted were different from any we had seen ; some supposed them to be Portuguese, others Imperial.

At day-light, the next morning, the land again appeared to the north-north-west ; and in the forenoon, a snow was seen bearing down to us, which proved to be an English East India packet, that had left Table Bay three days before, and was cruising with orders for the China fleet, and other India ships. She told us, that, about three weeks before, Mons. Trongoller's squadron, consisting of six ships, had sailed from the Cape, and was gone to cruise off St. Helena, for our East India fleet. This intelligence made us conjecture, that the five sail we had seen standing to the eastward must have been the French squadron, who in that case had given over their cruise, and were probably proceeding to the Mauritius. Having informed the packet of our conjectures, and also of the time we understood the China ships were to sail from Canton, we left them, and proceeded toward the Cape.

In the evening of the 10th, the Gunner's Quoin bore north by east, and False Cape east-north-east ; but the wind being at south-west, and variable, prevented our getting into False Bay, till the evening of the 12th, when we dropt anchor abreast of Simon's Bay. We found a strong current setting to the westward, round the Cape, which for some time, we could but jest stem, with a breeze that would have carried us four knots an hour. The next morning we stood into Simon's Bay ; and at eight came to anchor, and moored a cable each way ; the best bower to the east-south-east, and small bower west-north-west ; the south-east point of the bay bearing south by east, Table Mountain north-east-half-north ; distant from the nearest shore one



third of a mile. We found lying here, the Nassau and Southampton East-Indiamen, waiting for convoy for Europe. The Resolution saluted the fort with eleven guns and the same number was returned.

Mr. Brandt, the governor of this place, came to visit us, as soon as we had anchored. This gentleman had conceived a great affection for Capt. Cook, who had been his constant guest, the many times he had visited the Cape; and though he had received the news of his melancholy fate some time before, he was exceedingly affected at the sight of our ships returning without their old commander. He appeared much surprised to see our crew in so stout and healthy a condition, as the Dutch ship that had left Macao, on our arrival there, and had touched at the Cape some time before, reported, that we were in a most wretched state, having only fourteen hands left on board the Resolution, and seven on board the Discovery. It is not easy to conceive the motive these people could have had for propagating so wanton and malicious a falsehood.

On the 15th, I accompanied Capt. Gore to Cape Town; and, the next morning, we waited on Baron Plettenberg, the governor, by whom we were received with every possible attention and civility. He had also conceived a great personal affection for Capt. Cook, as well as the highest admiration of his character, and heard the recital of his misfortune, with many expressions of unaffected sorrow. In one of the principal apartments of the governor's house, he shewed us two pictures, of Van Trump and de Ruyter, with a vacant space left between them, which he said he meant to fill up with the portrait of Capt. Cook; and, for that purpose, he requested our assistance when we should arrive in England, in purchasing one for him at any price.

We were afterward informed by the governor, that all the powers at this time at war with England had given orders to their cruisers to let us pass unmolested. This, as far as related to the French, we had sufficient reason to think true;

as Mr. Brandt had already delivered to Capt. Gore, a letter from Mr. Stephens, inclosing a copy of Mons. de Sartine's orders taken on board the *Licorne*. With respect to the Americans, the matter still rested on report ; but Baron Plettenberg assured us that he had been expressly told, by the commander of a Spanish ship, which had touched at the Cape, that he, and all the officers of his nation, had received orders to the same effect. These assurances confirmed Capt. Gore in the resolution he had taken of maintaining, on his part, a neutral conduct ; and accordingly, when on the arrival of the *Sybil*, to convoy the India ships home, it was proposed to him to accompany them on their passage, he thought proper to decline an offer, the acceptance of which might, in case we had fallen in with any of the enemy's ship, have brought him into a very difficult and embarrassing situation.

During our stay at the Cape, we met with every proof of the most friendly disposition towards us, both in the governor and principal persons of the place, as well Africans as Europeans. At our first arrival, Colonel Gordon, the commander of the Dutch forces, with whom I had the happiness of being on a footing of intimacy and friendship, was absent on a journey into the interior parts of Africa, but returned before our departure. He had, on this occasion, penetrated farther up the country than any other traveller had done before him, and made great additions to the valuable collection of natural curiosities with which he has enriched the museum of the Prince of Orange. Indeed, a long residence at the Cape, and the powerful assistance he has derived from his rank and situation there, joined to an active and indefatigable spirit, and an eager thirst after knowledge, have enabled him to acquire a more intimate and perfect knowledge of this part of Africa, than could have fallen to the lot of any other person ; and it is with great pleasure I can congratulate the public on the informa-

tion I have received of his intentions to give the world, from his own hand, a history of his travels.

False Bay, situated to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, is frequented by shipping during the prevalence of the north-east winds, which begin to blow in May, and make it dangerous to lie in Table Bay. It is terminated on the west by the Cape of Good Hope, and on the eastward by False Cape.

The entrance of the bay is six leagues wide, the two Capes bearing from each other due east and west. About eleven miles from the Cape of Good Hope, on the west side, is situated Simon's Bay, the only convenient station for ships to lie in ; for although the road without it affords good anchorage, it is too open, and but ill circumstanced for procuring necessaries, the town being small, and supplied with provisions from Cape Town, which is about twenty-four miles distant. To the north-north-east of Simon's Bay, there are several others, from which it may be easily distinguished, by a remarkable sandy way to the northward of the town, which makes a striking object. In steering for the harbour, along the west shore, there is a small flat rock, called Noah's Ark, and about a mile to the north-east of it, several others, called the Roman Rocks. These lie one mile and a half from the anchoring-place ; and either between them, or to the northward of the Roman Rocks, there is a safe passage into the bay. When the north-west gales are set in, the following bearings will direct the mariner to a safe and commodious birth : Noah's Ark, south  $51^{\circ}$  east, and the centre of the hospital south  $53^{\circ}$  west, in seven fathoms. But if the south-east winds have not done blowing, it is better to stay further out in eight or nine fathoms. The bottom is sandy, and the anchors settle considerably before they get hold. All the north part of the bay is low sandy land, but the east side is very high. About six miles east of Noah's Ark lies Seal Island, the south part of which is said to be dangerous, and not to be approached, with safety,

nearer than in twenty-two fathoms. Off the Cape of Good Hope are many sunk rocks, some of which appear at low water ; and others have breakers constantly on them.

Having completed our victualling, and furnished ourselves with the necessary supply of naval stores, we sailed out of the bay on the 9th of May, and on the 14th, we got into the south-east trade-wind, and steered to the westward of the islands of St. Helena and Ascension. On the 31st, being in latitude  $12^{\circ} 48'$  south, longitude  $15^{\circ} 40'$  west, the magnetic needle was found to have no dip.

On the 12th of June, we passed the equator for the fourth time during this voyage, in longitude  $26^{\circ} 16'$  west. We now began to perceive the effects of a current setting north by east, half a knot an hour. It continued in this direction till the middle of July, when it began to set a little to the southward of the west.

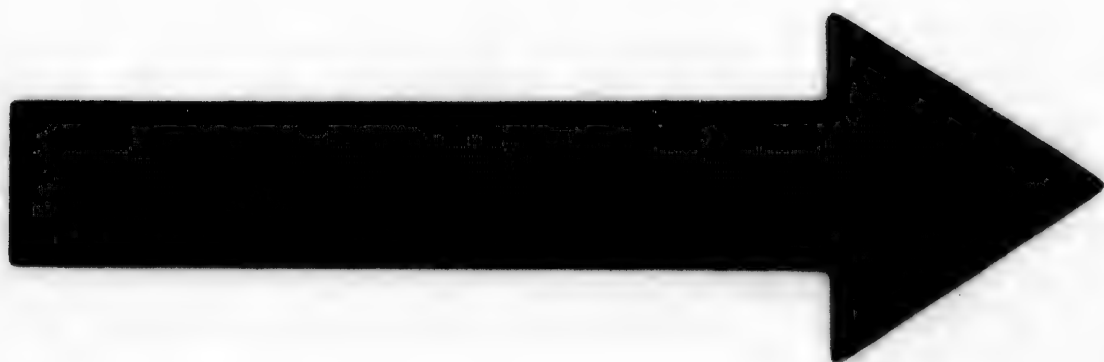
On the 12th of August, we made the western coast of Ireland, and after a fruitless attempt to get into Port Galway, from whence it was Capt. Gore's intention to have sent the journals and maps of our voyage to London, we were obliged, by strong southerly winds, to steer to the northward. Our next object was to put into Lough Swilly ; but the winds continuing in the same quarter, we stood on to the northward of Lewis Island ; and on the 22d of August, at eleven in the morning, both ships came to an anchor at Stromness. From hence, I was dispatched by Capt. Gore, to acquaint the Board of Admiralty with our arrival ; and on the 4th day of October the ships arrived safe at the Nore, after an absence of four years, two months, and twenty-two days.

On quitting the Discovery at Stromness, I had the satisfaction of leaving the whole crew in perfect health ; and at the same time, the number of convalescents on board the Resolution, did not exceed two or three, of whom only one was incapable of service. In the course of our voyage, the Resolution lost but five men by sickness, three of whom

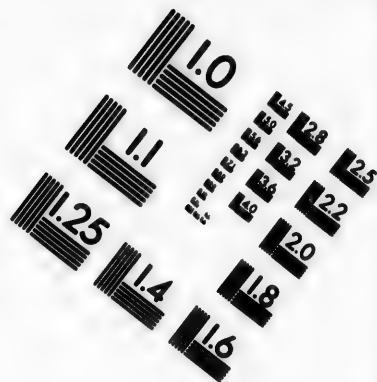
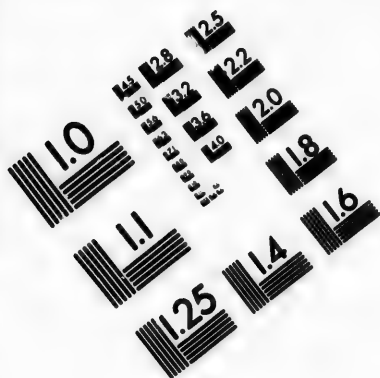
were in a precarious state of health at our departure from England; the Discovery did not lose a man. An unremitting attention to the regulations established by Capt. Cook, with which the world is already acquainted, may be justly considered as the principal cause, under the blessing of Divine Providence, of this singular success. But the baneful effects of salt provisions might perhaps, in the end, have been felt, notwithstanding these salutary precautions, if we had not assisted them, by availing ourselves of every substitute, our situation at various times afforded. These frequently consisting of articles, which our people had not been used to consider as food for men, and being sometimes exceedingly nauseous, it required the joint aid of persuasion, authority, and example, to conquer their prejudices and disgusts.

The preventives we principally relied on were sour krout and portable soup. As to the antiscorbutic remedies, with which we were amply supplied, we had no opportunity of trying their effects, as there did not appear the slightest symptoms of the scurvy, in either ship, during the whole voyage. Our malt and hops had also been kept as a resource, in case of actual sickness, and on examination at the Cape of Good Hope, were found entirely spoiled. About the same time, were opened some casks of biscuit, flour, malt, pease, oatmeal, and groats, which, by way of experiment, had been put up in small casks, lined with tin-frail, and found all, except the pease, in a much better state, than could have been expected in the usual manner of package.

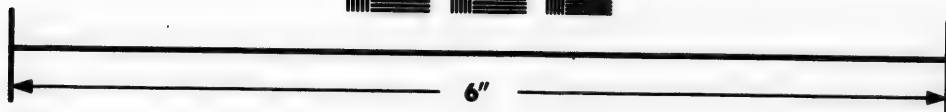
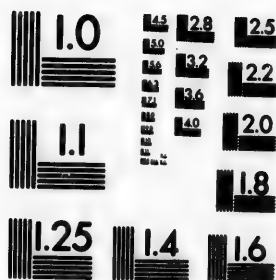
I cannot neglect this opportunity of recommending to the consideration of Government, the necessity of allowing a sufficient quantity of Peruvian bark, to such of his Majesty's ships as may be exposed to the influence of unwholesome climates. It happened very fortunately in the Discovery, that only one of the men that had fevers in the Straits of Sunda, stood in need of this medicine, as he alone consumed the whole quantity usually carried out by surgeons, in such ves-







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sels as ours. Had more been affected in this same manner, they would probably all have perished, from the want of the only remedy capable of affording them effectual relief.

Another circumstance attending this voyage, which, if we consider its duration, and the nature of the service in which we were engaged, will appear scarcely less singular than the extraordinary healthiness of the crews, was, that the two ships never lost sight of each other for a day together, except twice; which was owing, the first time, to an accident that happened to the *Discovery* off the coast of *Owhyhee*; and the second, to the fogs we met with at the entrance of *Awatska Bay*. A stronger proof cannot be given of the skill and vigilance of our subaltern officers, to whom this share of merit almost entirely belongs.



We have now brought to a conclusion the narrative of the *Voyages of Capt. Cook*, comprehending a number of interesting and important circumstances relative to the habits of life of different nations heretofore unknown and in regions where the commerce of civilized nations had never reached, or but in a very partial degree. The editors of the present edition flatter themselves that the attention which they have paid in selecting all the interesting parts of the larger volumes, which are loaded with technical matters of little interest to the general reader, will meet with their approbation; and having received this assurance from many of their readers, they have appended the *Voyages of Capt. Parry* and other navigators and travellers, proposing to adopt the same mode of selection as in *Cook's Voyages*, which have given such general satisfaction. They are persuaded that no works merit the notice of reading persons

more, as laying open to notice the various characters of mankind, and shewing, by comparison with other countries, the multiplied and various means of enjoyment which civilized nations possess. Parry's Voyages shew also how improved and enlarged the efforts for exploring the colder climates are become, and give the history of a residence in a climate so cold as to have been previously supposed not possible to be endured by human beings

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